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THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

THE GULF WAR: Saddam pulls out a surprise peace offer, but his conditions are unacceptable to the coalition partners; meanwhile, the air assault and propaganda war rage on

In light of Saddam's feints in the war of words, Bush must weigh his timing and tactics even more closely. ► A look inside **battered Baghdad**. ► How are **bombing targets** chosen? ► **AirLand strategy**, designed for World War III, gets its first real test in the Persian Gulf. **16**



WORLD: Yugoslavia in extremis

Chaos looms as its contentious republics push toward secession—and civil war. ► In **South Africa**, fear and intrigue stall the trial of Winnie Mandela. **56**



BUSINESS: Wal-Mart deposes Sears

Sam Walton's scrappy discounter is now America's largest retailing empire. ► **Airlines** slash fares in a scramble to survive. ► Consumers hate **Big Oil**, but is the industry getting a bad rap? **62**

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Photograph by Charles Platiau—
Department of Defense pool

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LETTERS

STALKING SADDAM

"I admire General Schwarzkopf's qualifications, but with a sorrowful heart."

*Chang-chi Liu
Fremont, Calif.*



The delicate and fragile coalition of Arabs and Westerners needs a dynamic personality like U.S. General "Stormin' Norman" Schwarzkopf to keep all parties on the road to our objective: annihilation of the Iraqi war machine [THE GULF WAR, Feb. 4]. If the allies are fortunate enough to capture Saddam Hussein, Schwarzkopf would be an ideal choice for judge in any war-crimes trial.

*Carl Pacini
Winter Park, Fla.*

If General Schwarzkopf believes he is "a successor to Alexander the Great," we are really in trouble. Like all Western generals who tried to impose Western goals on Persia and the Middle East, Alexander, after scoring some initial victories, perished in the sand. His successors, and the Roman and Christian conquerors who came afterward, died in the desert or were driven out.

*Alexander Wallace
Portland, Me.*

Who needs Rambo? After all, we've got Stormin' Norman!

*Andy Featherstone
Newburgh, Ind.*

Reading your cover story reminded me of a line by the Chinese poet Wang Wei, who lived 1,200 years ago: "A general's victory is built upon 10,000 dried bones." I admire General Schwarzkopf's qualifications, but with a sorrowful heart.

*Chang-chi Liu
Fremont, Calif.*

I've been pondering the differences between the tormented faces of POWs coerced into making antiwar statements and the safe, smug faces of those here at home who voluntarily make such remarks. The protesters evidently assume freedom is something we inherit; the men and women of Desert Storm know freedom is something we pay for. We could not be the land of the free if we weren't also the home of the brave.

*Pamela Boyd
Olympia, Wash.*

The Gulf war is being fought over a number of legitimate concerns. However, war is a poor solution, and this one is largely the result of the juvenile intransigence of two men, Saddam Hussein and George Bush. By confronting aggression and stubbornness with threats and ultimatums, Bush has unwittingly been dragged down to Saddam's level of conflict resolution: offensive warfare.

*Mark Albrecht
Milwaukee*

You miss the reason for having such smart weaponry when you state that "as the Scud hits have demonstrated, mistakes do happen." The Scud, with a targeting-error radius measured in miles, is a mistake before it is launched. Do not compare the Scud, a haphazard weapon useful only in terrorizing civilian populations, to computer- and laser-guided arms designed for precise delivery with a minimum of civilian casualties. The coalition cares; Saddam Hussein doesn't.

*Brian Campbell
Antwerp, Belgium*

Why has the Pentagon refused to rule out the use of its 400 nuclear weapons in the Gulf? We're told it's to "keep Saddam guessing." Just remember—the last time he called our bluff.

*Daniel Young, M.D., President
Physicians for Social Responsibility
Washington*

California Representative Maxine Waters' contention that "it's not African America's" war to fight is a crock. My son is an American. The fact that he was born Korean does not in any way diminish his responsibility to defend this country. If you accept the benefits, you must also accept the responsibilities.

*David E. Scott
West Salem, Wis.*

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LETTERS

I am amazed to read about Americans who commit acts of violence against Americans of Arab descent. They obviously do not fully appreciate the tremendous personal and political risks our Turkish, Egyptian and Saudi allies are taking by siding with us in this conflict. Most of the Arab nations either have sent soldiers to fight next to ours or are remaining neutral. Arab bashing displays an unfortunate ignorance on the part of some Americans. It is an affront to the courage being shown by our allies and to the loyalty of Americans of Arab descent.

Mary Ann Sutton
Schenectady, N.Y.

If supporting our troops means sending them into the desert to die, then we had better redefine the word support. We don't need any more war memorials. We do need people who are concerned enough and brave enough to say no to this insane cycle of war after war after war. If we truly back our troops, we will bring them home alive, not in body bags.

Diz Greer
Corvallis, Ore.

A Good War?

I enjoyed Charles Krauthammer's analysis of the possible effects of the gulf war on the U.S. [ESSAY, Jan. 28]. However, I challenge his reference to "the last good war." War can be for a good cause, as in the case of World War II. But wars themselves, even if they are just and inevitable like the current one in the gulf, are always horrible and bad.

Endre Yelmda Mozes
Haifa, Israel

Let me get this straight. Krauthammer says the reason my cousin is in Saudi Arabia, where my brothers may soon join him, is so that America can finally feel good about itself? Germany tried that in 1939. It did not work.

Michael Harper
Kagoshima, Japan

Environmental Terrorism

I was pleased to see your article "A War Against the Earth" about the oil spill in the Persian Gulf [THE GULF WAR, Feb. 4]. Your photograph showed a bedraggled cormorant struggling in a sea of oil. The heartrending image is of a Socotra cormorant, a species whose known breeding grounds are almost exclusively limited to the Persian Gulf. The gulf is also the major breeding ground for the crab plover, the white-checked tern and the little-known Saunders' tern. The very existence of these species is threatened by the oil spill, and efforts must be made to place protective booms around their low-lying nesting islands. Oil on their breeding sites will end

LETTERS

up on their feathers and eggs and on their chicks' feathers, decreasing hatching rates and causing deformities and possibly death from hypothermia.

*Joanna Burger, Professor of Biology
Rutgers University
Piscataway, N.J.*

The human race deserves itself, but the other species of the planet should not have to endure our follies.

*R. Packard Martin
Fort Collins, Colo.*

The Censorship Issue

The U.S. government, embroiled in another war, seems determined to rally support by dehumanizing this conflict and obscuring the truth [THE GULF WAR, Feb. 4]. To suggest that the press not make its coverage too graphic so as to protect public sensitivity is the ultimate obscenity. We need to see those lifeless bodies and weeping families to prevent us from denying the reality of what we are doing. Let us not allow military euphemisms and gung-ho patriotism to blind us to the truth: war is ugly, senseless and unnecessary.

*Claudia Caporale-Carabelli
Jenkintown, Pa.*

If censorship protects only one life in the gulf war, I can wait for the details, good and bad. For too long the media have assumed the right to present the news as they please. Your poll shows that the public feels they cannot do so responsibly. Listening to the questions asked at press conferences, the glitches already made this early in the conflict and the emotional interviews with families, I can see that the objective is a scoop, better ratings, bigger circulation—all for profits. The media get no sympathy from me.

*Hazel Regan
Croton, N.Y.*

Nailing Hammer

Your art critic, Robert Hughes, is entitled to the opinion of Armand Hammer's art collection he expressed in his piece "America's Vainest Museum" [ART, Jan. 28]. I am furious, however, that such a hatchet job would include Hammer's entire life. As an executive and philanthropist, Hammer should inspire all Americans to aim higher. His business dealings gave thousands their livelihood and saved some Russians from starvation. Freightier loads of goods coming out of the Soviet Union earned profits instead of worthless rubles. As for Occidental Petroleum Co., the shareholders became rich under his leadership. We are not talking about a corporate raider here. This man created real wealth and gave much of it away.

*Claire S. Walsh
Uniontown, Ohio*

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THE NEC COMMITMENT:

PART 2

QUALITY PEOPLE, QUALITY PRODUCTS AT NEC's McDONOUGH PLANT

By Neil A. Martin

McDonough, Ga. — Hanging over the entrance to the computer monitor assembly area at NEC Technologies' Georgia plant is a red and white sign with a significant message for workers and visitors: "Pride, Teamwork and Caring: the Heart of Our Quality Product." A second placard identifies another area of the plant as home of the "Live Wires — we're making all the right connections." And still another notice informs workers that their section was number one in defect-free production during the previous month.

As all this signage clearly suggests, quality production is the primary concern at NEC Technologies' electronics plant in McDonough, a small (pop. 4,000) town about a half-hour's drive from Atlanta. It is a concept that permeates the atmosphere of the plant and is built into its products and services. On the factory floor it can be seen in the computer-generated quality charts that line the walls and in row after row of cork bulletin boards that announce quality achievements, declining defect ratios, increasing yields, and "product improvement goals."

But even more important is the quality factor in the people who make up the plant, which is noticeable in their attitudes and work habits.

"Everyone in business these days talks about quality," says Richard T. Weber, the plant's quality assurance manager, "but here it is almost a religion. We've tried to instill the quality factor into each and every employee by stressing that everyone at each work station is personally responsible for the quality of NEC products."

"Each day, through meetings, conferences and talks with and among our employees, we focus on finding new ways to improve production techniques in order to eliminate defects and provide a better product for the customer," he adds. "And it is not just a matter of corporate philosophy. It is vital to our survival in what is an extremely price-sensitive and highly competitive market."

A TRADITION OF QUALITY

■ At NEC's McDonough operation, as in Japan, quality (*or hinshitsu*) is more than just a matter of survival. It is virtually an obsession, reflected not only in the products and services, but also in the recruitment, training, and work habits of the people who produce them and the different programs used to maintain, monitor, and expand quality efforts. And it is part of a tradition that goes back more than four decades to NEC Technologies' Tokyoparent, NEC Corp.

In 1952, the company won the coveted Demming Application Prize — a prestigious national award given in recognition of outstanding quality achievements. A little over a decade later, in 1964, NEC became the first company to introduce a statistical quality control system in Japan at its electron tube manufacturing facility in Tamagawa. Around the same time, NEC adopted the Zero Defect (ZD) movement, a quality circle idea first developed in America by the U.S. Army but "imported" into Japan during the 1930s by Dr. Koji Kobayashi, NEC's former president and chairman, who guided the company's development for more than two decades.

ZD IN AMERICA

■ Ironically, while the quality circle idea lost favor within U.S. industry, it was adopted fervently by NEC and other Japanese companies and "exported" to their U.S. manufacturing subsidiaries.

"At first we thought QC-type of activities might not work at U.S. plants because American workers tend to be more individualistic in their work habits than their counterparts in Japan, who are more group-oriented," says general manager Nobuyuki (Nobby) Maeda. "But we found that once people understand why a certain thing is being done in a certain way, they respond quite aggressively and work in concert with each other. There is a very strong spirit of interdependence and cooperation among the employees here that is very impressive. And it



▲ Karen Dorsey, quality inspector, is proud of the quality that she assures is built into the NEC laptop computers.

has made a significant difference in the results."

At the facility, about 71% of the plant's 650 employees participate in ZD programs, one of the highest employee participation percentages of any NEC facility. The 330 production workers are broken up into 22 ZD teams with such unusual names as "Super Subs," "The Unsyncables," "Quality Express," and the "A-Team," whose tasks are to improve assembly line efficiency. Another 150 support department employees representing accounting, purchasing, quality assurance, and human resources also have ZD teams.

Goals are set, points are accumulated for improvements, and awards — for example, a free catered lunch and \$25 gift certificates — are given to winning teams. Representatives of the plant's top ZD team also get to attend a "national" ZD conference convened annually among NEC's five production facilities in the U.S. (which will be held in Roseville, Ca., this year) and an "international" conference in Tokyo.

The Georgia plant's ZD teams meet monthly to discuss problems and how they might be resolved and to determine what goals should be set.

"One of the things we try to do through ZD," says quality assurance manager Weber,

Advertisement

Lisa Reeves performs one of the numerous in-process inspections on NEC's line of laptop computers.



"is to focus on attainable objectives such as reducing defects or improving yields or cutting the time and number of steps required to do a specific job—things that will reduce costs and improve product quality."

The results of the ZD program can be seen in the steady decline in the number of parts rejected because of problems and the annual savings to the company.

For example, the production of more than 130,000 color monitors each year requires over two million wire connections by the Wiring and Connecting Department. A single connection error results in a critically defective monitor.

"We found that missed, loose, and reversed wire connections accounted for nearly half of our rejects," says group leader Rhonda Jones. "So we decided to concentrate on eliminating 'human error' as a factor in defective wiring."

A ZD team, "Live Wires," was formed, and new and revised training procedures for line personnel were introduced. New inspection procedures were instituted, visual aids were installed along the line, and other work procedures were tightened. The result: the ZD effort reduced defective wiring incidents by a factor of more than ten.

"Simply put, five months after we started the project, our department made only 142 wiring errors in 982,622 connections," Jones explains. "That means our overall reject rate had dropped to 0.014%, which far exceeded our expectations." For her group's role in the anti-defect campaign, Jones represented the Georgia plant at NEC's international ZD conference in Tokyo last year.

SAVING TIME AND MONEY

■ Naturally, such improvements save the company time and money. The 17 or so ongoing ZD projects saved the plant more than \$100,000 during the current "ZD year," which ended June 30. These projects cover everything from reducing assembly defects to improving recruitment procedures and reducing absenteeism. More than 1,000 free lunches and over \$8,000 in gift certi-

ificates have been awarded to winning teams.

One project, aimed at reducing screen rejects, is expected to save the plant over \$37,000 annually; another, geared to reducing time lost in changing assembly procedures to accommodate introduction

of the new model, will contribute an estimated \$16,525 in cost reductions.

"The ZD program is one of the most powerful tools we have for improving quality," says general manager Maeda. "And beyond its cost control and quality improvement aspects, ZD also helps to improve and increase communications, teamwork, and employee morale."

GOOD COMMUNICATION

■ Communication among line workers is already good. As part of ZD, assembly line workers meet every day a few minutes before their shift begins to discuss the day's production goals, yesterday's problems, and ways to do things better.

"We are all inspectors," team leader Kim Grindstaff reminds members of her Quality Express final assembly ZD team at a recent morning meeting. "We build our own quality into the system. We have a buddy check system, which is important. We aren't working in an isolated environment. Everyone has to be concerned about quality because it concerns everyone."

Indeed, this mutual concern about how a job is done extends to top management. General manager Maeda, for example, holds regular meetings with production personnel, briefing them on company plans and soliciting opinions and statistical input before making decisions. He is also a strong believer in an "open door" and "open office" environment. There are no private offices (or reserved parking spaces) for management staff at the plant. Maeda's office is located between two departments, with the doors always open to give staff easy and immediate access to him.

"My office isn't an office, it's a corridor," Maeda explains. "Physical partitions tend to breed mental partitions. We want to encourage communication at all levels."

NO HIERARCHY OR BUREAUCRACY

■ Maeda's philosophy permeates relationships throughout the plant and facilitates open communications among managers, supervisors, and line personnel.

"There is no hierarchy or bureaucracy here," says Rhonda Jones, a three-year plant veteran. "Group leaders and supervisors work side by side with us. No one tries to act in a superior manner. We all work on an equal basis."

Such a management atmosphere also encourages loyalty and hard work among employees, which shows up in several ways. For example, more than half of the 90 employees who first came to work for NEC in 1985 are still with the plant. Turnover is low—less than the industry average—and although absenteeism has been running at about the industry average of between 2% and 3%, there is a major push by plant ZD teams to bring it down to below that level.

For example, one ZD team—the "Super Subs"—in the monitor sub-assembly area, had been suffering from an absenteeism rate of as high as 3.45%. A goal of 2.76% was set and in less than a month, the rate was reduced to an average 1.38%. A month later, it was further cut to 0.88%. If the team maintains the ratio, it will win the free dinner and the \$25 gift certificates for members.

TOUGH STANDARDS FOR VENDORS

■ NEC's quality drive also extends to its vendors, the companies that supply the raw materials for production. In selecting a vendor, attention is paid not only to the price, long-term reliability, and technical aspects of a supplier's product but also the company's management structure, organization, and financial status.

"Price and performance aren't the only considerations," says purchasing manager Rich DeVos. "We look for suppliers who are willing to share the risks as well as the rewards." DeVos elaborates: "There are peaks and valleys in any business and we look for people who will be around for a long time."

Perhaps more important than anything else, DeVos says, is trust. "When people buy one of our laptops or monitors, there is an unspoken contract of trust that the products they are buying have been made to the highest-quality specifications. We expect the same from our vendors."

FUTURE EFFORTS

■ In the future, the plant's ZD effort will focus on improving product performance, raising supplier quality, enhancing the quality of work at the plant, and strengthening communications and teamwork.

"We've just scratched the surface with our ZD and suggestion programs," says accounting manager Ted Kanellopoulos. "There is still a lot of room for improvement and expansion of the concepts."

Neil A. Martin is a writer-consultant who divides his time between Japan and the U.S.

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LETTERS

At the opening of a Hammer exhibition in Palm Springs, Calif., in 1986, I was examining three Rembrandts when a hand touched my shoulder. It was Hammer himself, who explained that *Junno*, which Hughes correctly calls "flat and gross," was indeed the crown of his collection. Unfortunately, he made the amateur collector's error of being enamored of famous signatures and ended up with very expensive fourth-rate paintings.

Mickey McArthur
Sonoma, Ariz.

Not So Crazy Adventure

Your report on cellist Yo-Yo Ma's marathon performance of the six Bach suites in Carnegie Hall was inspiring to those of us who would like to manifest the "inner core... where you are calm and at peace" that Ma finds in playing Bach [Music, Jan. 28]. It seems that Ma, through his fasting and exercising, was tuning a vital instrument in addition to his cello, namely his body. Considering the news these days, his "crazy adventure" strikes me as the ultimate expression of sanity. Like Bach and his pen, Ma and his cello are instruments of a transcendent beauty and serve to remind humankind of our magnificent and peaceful potential.

Heather Broadhead
Pittsburgh

Responding to Crisis

As often happens with a major world event, readers were galvanized into writing us with their opinions on the war in the gulf. So far, we've received almost 1,400 letters. The overwhelming majority supported the U.S. and its allies, although we have received many comments from those opposed to the war. Of the readers who addressed the issue of press coverage, most felt that the military was right to impose censorship in order to protect the troops.

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GRAPEVINE

By DAVID ELLIS / Reported by Linda Williams



Careful, Tío Sam Might Want You

The U.S. Border Patrol thinks Operation Desert Storm may explain why the number of Latin Americans caught trying to cross the border from Mexico declined dramatically in late January. In Laredo and Del Rio, Texas, border arrests were down as much as 40%, compared with the same month a year ago. Arrests in Yuma, Ariz., decreased 30%. Immigration officials say Mexico is rife with rumors that the U.S. government is drafting illegal aliens and shipping them off to fight in the war. The prospect of combat hasn't deterred some Mexican nationals already living in the U.S., however, from trying to join the military. Army recruiters contend the aliens attempt to enlist, mistakenly believing they can obtain citizenship.

Dick Cheney's Memory Gap

The Defense Secretary appears to have a double standard when it comes to Pentagon policy on military families. Dick Cheney opposes a proposed law that would excuse one parent from the front lines in the event married soldiers with children are both called to serve. Cheney's position prompted the sponsor of the Military Orphans Prevention bill to remind him about his own history as a noncombatant. California Congresswoman Barbara Boxer points out that Cheney received a deferment from the Vietnam draft in 1966 because his wife Lynne was pregnant. "You... felt that your wife and soon-to-be-born child needed you," Boxer wrote Cheney last week. "Our bill... is not even that generous."

Who'll Arrange The Coronation?

Commerce Secretary Robert Moshbacher is emerging as the most likely choice to chair Bush's re-election campaign in 1992. A proficient fund raiser, Moshbacher wants the job and ranks as a longtime Bush crony. But his talents run more toward glad-handing than mapping



GOOD WORD, BETTER PROTECTION

If soldiers can find confidence in the Bible, wouldn't an armor-plated one offer a bit more? Riverside Book & Bible of Iowa

Falls has seen sales of its steel-jacketed Bibles surge as families order them for relatives in the gulf. The company's new Good Book (\$19.95), which is not guaranteed bulletproof, comes inscribed with a verse from Psalms 28: "The Lord is my strength and my shield." Meanwhile, the 200,000 free Bibles given to soldiers by the International Bible Society have been camouflaged in desert colors. One such book sits on allied commander Norman Schwarzkopf's desk.

strategy or managing a far-flung staff. Those tasks will probably be left to Robert Teeter, a veteran of the 1988 campaign and public opinion expert. Chief of staff John Sununu also plans to exercise considerable control over the campaign. And hard-hitting political adman Roger Ailes, who has been coaching Bush on his TV appearances throughout the gulf crisis, is expected to return as image adviser.

Castro's Clever Patch Job

Remember those predictions that Fidel Castro's regime was on the verge of collapse? White House experts have ruefully concluded that after 32 years in control, the old dictator still has staying power. While publicly vowing to maintain Marxist purity, Castro has allowed a number of perestroika-style reforms in the Cuban economy. Among them: linking farm-worker pay

to the amount workers produce. The island has signed a \$350 million trade deal with Mexico and may reap secondhand benefits when that country completes a long-debated free-trade agreement with the U.S.

Dance Till It Hurts

What do you get when you combine Gregorian chants, a disco beat and quotations from the Marquis de Sade delivered in a breathless whisper? Only the most popular dance music in Europe. *Sadness* is currently a No. 1 hit in 13 countries and is stealing the show at cutting-edge discos in the U.S. Romanian-born producer Michael Cretu calls his odd creation Enigma music. Cretu claims the ancient music of the Catholic Church—"a rather mysterious and absolutely paradoxical club"—provides the perfect companion to De Sade's sensualist prose.

Did I Hear You Insult That Veggie?

The broccoli-hating President may have a big problem if he visits Colorado. The state's house of representatives passed a bill on Feb. 4 to prohibit anyone from making disparaging comments about perishable fruit, vegetables and dairy products. Supporters of the bill, who contend it won't curtail First Amendment rights, believe the 1989 controversy over Alar-sprayed apples proves that agricultural goods need special protection from defamatory comments. The measure, which awaits a vote by the Colorado senate, was drafted by Representative Steve Acquafresca, who moonlights as a consultant to fruit growers.

★★★ The Two Sides of Warspeak

In the gulf war, the top brass and the G.I.s seem to be speaking two different languages—neither of them English. William Lutz, a Rutgers University English professor, says military strategists have adopted M.B.A.-style buzz words that "represent an emphasis on managerial skills." The men and women in the ranks, however, have a more colorful way of communicating. A sampler:

Top Brass


- Incontinent Ordnance.** Bombs and artillery shells that fall wide of their targets and hit civilians.
- Area Denial Weapons.** Cluster bombs that wreak great damage over a particular zone.
- Ballistically Induced Aperture in the Subcutaneous Environment.** A bullet hole in a human being.
- Coercive Potential.** The capability of bombs to harm and demoralize soldiers.
- Suppressing Assets.** The destruction of sites containing anti-aircraft weaponry.
- Unwelcome Visit.** British term for any foray into enemy territory.
- Scenario-Dependent, Post-Crisis Environment.** Conditions after the war.

Grunts

- Echelons Beyond Reality.** The source of orders from superior officers.
- High Speed, Low Drag.** Phrase indicating that an operation went exactly according to plan.
- Micks.** Abbreviation of minutes, as in "give me five micks."
- 9-4.** A more chummy version of the traditional "10-4" radio sign-off.
- Suicide Circles.** Nickname for Saudi traffic roundabouts. Road accidents have so far claimed the lives of 13 allied soldiers.
- 180 Out.** The coordinate-minded soldier's term for a wrong answer—180° from the truth.
- Strack.** To get on the right track, or frame of mind, for battle.

In its first year of production, this Chevrolet was ranked as the most trouble-free mid-size specialty car.*

And it's really no surprise, because the Lumina Coupe delivers everything you could want in an adult sport coupe. Responsive, efficient† and fun to drive, the Lumina Coupe has been a winner from the moment it was introduced. And we're proud Lumina quality is winning with owners as well. The same spirit that made Lumina Coupe a winner is driving everything we do. That's why more people are winning with The Heartbeat of America.

MORE PEOPLE ARE
WINNING WITH
THE
Heartbeat
OF AMERICA 
TODAY'S CHEVROLET™



*J.D. Power and Associates 1990 Initial Quality Surveys™. Based on owner-reported problems during the first 90 days of ownership.

†An EPA est. MPG city 19/highway 30 with optional 4-speed automatic.

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FROM THE PUBLISHER

If this issue of *TIME* seems vaguely familiar, it may be because you watched us putting it together on television last week. From early Monday afternoon through late Friday evening, an 18-member crew from C-SPAN, the cable television industry's public affairs network, followed our staff as we assembled our analysis of the week's news, C-SPAN, which is available in 53 million U.S. homes, aired a total of 25 hours of live coverage of our editorial meetings as well as taped interviews with editors; art, picture and production staff; and some of my publishing colleagues.

Our video friends were even hosts of call-in programs that allowed viewers to discuss issues with *TIME* journalists.

"We wanted to take an in-depth and real-time look at the largest news weekly magazine in the U.S.," says Brian Lamb, the founder and chief executive officer of C-SPAN. "I really do believe that if someone watches only television to get his information, he's making a big mistake. You need to supplement your diet. Print gives you a more comprehensive perspective."

Lamb, a fellow Hoosier from Lafayette, Ind., conducted many

of the interviews himself. His crew commandeered a small conference room on our 24th floor. "I was surprised at how quickly everybody adapted to the situation," says Barrett

Seaman, deputy chief of correspondents. "Everything went much more smoothly than I expected."

Although *TIME* staff members appear on television with increasing frequency, this was the first time that our planning meetings had been broadcast live. Some of us noticed an unusual number of fresh coiffures and telegraphic neckties, but, generally, what the viewers saw was remarkably close to the routine atmosphere of a normal work-week. Early in the week our journalists were probably all a little uptight, unwilling to risk spilling a favorite-story idea or sounding less than omniscient.

A few of our key decisions had to take place off-camera, but by the end of the week many staff members were becoming quite casual. Without waiting for the reviews, I think our debut in immersion video was considerably less exciting than a good basketball game but noticeably better than a bad day's debate in the Congress. And I am proud of our staff: no one said "Hi, Mom!" all week.

Samuel A. Wells



With cameras rolling, *TIME* staff members pick layouts

"Print gives you a more comprehensive perspective."





The Gulf War

TIME/FEBRUARY 25, 1991

THE BATTLEFRONT

Saddam's Endgame

Trapped by mounting losses, Iraq tries a last-ditch ploy—but the allies only step up preparations for the ground war



WIN MCNAMEE / CODPOD

By **GEORGE J. CHURCH**



This was a bombshell? At first glance it looked like a warmed-over version of an offer Saddam Hussein had made as early as Aug. 12, 10 days after his troops overran Kuwait—but this time with even *more* conditions for an Iraqi pullout from the ravaged emirate. Iraq demanded not just an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza but also the removal of all allied troops from the Persian Gulf, including naval forces that have been on patrol there for decades. Plus forgiveness of all Iraqi debts. Plus reparations for the destruction caused by allied bombing. Plus...

But yes, it was a bombshell. Not because the offer has the remotest chance of being accepted. President Bush promptly called it a "cruel hoax," and British Prime Minister John Major redundantly labeled it a "bogus sham." But Iraq for once was

pointedly not boasting about making American and other allied soldiers drown in their own blood, not spurning all talk of a cease-fire with contempt, not claiming that Kuwait is and always will be the country's 19th province.

Instead Saddam seemed to be exploring how he might get out of the war while there is something left of his army and regime, not to mention his skin. The statement, issued in the name of the five-man Revolutionary Command Council, declared Iraq's "readiness to deal" with U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 660. That resolution, adopted the very day of the invasion, is the basic document calling on Iraq to get out of Kuwait. And the long string of conditions attached to the withdrawal that the U.N. had insisted be unconditional might well be an initial bid designed to be taken little more seriously than a bazaar merchant's opening price quotation.

The timing seemed almost as significant as the wording. The offer, broadcast by

Army infantry training in Saudi Arabia for the impending ground offensive

Baghdad Radio last Friday, came just as allied correspondents in the Saudi desert were making book on how soon the long-awaited U.S.-led ground offensive would begin. Most were guessing a day or two; a week was about the longest wait anyone expected. The journalists were reading signs of an imminent attack that must have been just as obvious to Saddam's generals. Among them: American bombing was moving closer and closer to the Iraqi front lines; the allies were using new weapons, including fuel-air bombs, to blast paths through the minefields that soldiers and tanks would have to cross in an initial assault; and weather conditions were close to ideal. Late last week there began a period of dark nights with little or no moonlight (favorable to allied troops, whose night-fighting equipment and training are vastly superior to the Iraqis') and high tides (good for a possible am-

phibious assault by U.S. Marines on the Kuwait coast). Saddam met with his corps commanders last week, apparently to decide how to deal with the coming assault. Some allied commanders had expected diversionary Iraqi ground attacks, but they got what appeared to be a diversionary diplomatic offensive instead.

Saddam had long boasted of his eagerness to start "the mother of battles" on the ground. It offered him the chance of inflicting such heavy casualties on the

allies that they would settle for a compromise peace. But the quickening pace of the allied air assault, and its increasing focus on the troops in Iraq, their weapons and fortifications, have changed the odds just in the last week or two. Marine Brigadier General Richard Neal, briefing journalists in Riyadh, estimated last week that bombing had destroyed roughly a third of the tanks, other armor and artillery once deployed in Kuwait: 1,300 of 4,280 tanks; 800 of 2,870 armored personnel car-

riers; 1,100 of 3,110 artillery pieces.

Extrapolating from those figures, and after consulting with military experts, TIME estimates the bombing might have killed or wounded anywhere from 50,000 to 100,000 soldiers, out of 546,000 the Pentagon estimates were deployed when the war began a month ago (the Pentagon count has fallen to an even 500,000, but it refuses to say why). Military authorities believe that a force suffering a loss of weapons and men on such a scale begins to lose

The Meaning Behind the Words

Before getting down to business, the Iraqi settlement offer lays out a long list of Arab grievances. While making the case for Iraq as a champion of the Arab cause (but never once mentioning Kuwait by name),

the statement boasts that "Iraq has triumphed in this duel"—a sign that Saddam may be preparing to declare victory and withdraw. But first he would try to link his withdrawal to this wish list of demands:

The COUNCIL is merely a rubber stamp for Saddam.

... the Revolutionary Command Council has decided to declare the following:

First, Iraq's readiness to deal with Security Council Resolution No. 660 of 1990 with the aim of reaching an honorable and acceptable political solution, including withdrawal. The first step that is required to be implemented as a pledge by Iraq regarding withdrawal will be linked to the following:

A) A total and comprehensive cease-fire on land, air, and sea.

B) For the Security Council to decide to abolish from the outset Resolutions 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670, 674, 677 and 678 and all effects resulting from all of them, and to abolish all resolutions and measures of boycott and embargo, as well as the other negative resolutions and measures that were adopted by certain countries against Iraq unilaterally or collectively before 2 August 1990, which were the real reasons for the Gulf crisis, so that things may return to normal as if nothing had happened. Iraq should not receive any negative effects for any reasons.

C) For the United States and other countries participating in the aggression and all the countries that sent their forces from the region to withdraw all the forces, weapons and equipment that they have brought to the Middle East region before and after 2 August 1990, whether in land, seas, oceans or gulfs, including the weapons and equipment that certain countries provided to Israel under the pretext of the crisis in the Gulf...

D) Israel must withdraw from Palestine and the Arab territories it is occupying in the Golan and southern Lebanon... In case Israel fails to do this, the (United Nations) should then enforce against Israel the same resolutions it passed against Iraq.

E) Iraq's historical rights on land and at sea should be guaranteed in full in any peaceful solution.

F) The political arrangement to be agreed upon should proceed from the people's will and in accordance with a genuine democratic practice and not on the basis of the rights acquired by the al-Sabah family...

Second, the countries that have participated in the aggression and in financing the aggression undertake to reconstruct what the aggression has destroyed in Iraq... Iraq should not incur any financial expenses in this regard.

Third, all the debts of Iraq and countries of the region... which did not take part in the aggression... should be written off.

Fourth, the Gulf states, including Iran, should be given the task of freely drawing up security arrangements in the region and of organizing relations among them without any foreign interference.

Fifth, to declare to the Arabian Gulf region a zone free of foreign military bases and from any form of military presence...

■ Saddam wants to withdraw the U.S. would probably agree to a U.N. move to ABOLISH — or abrogate — its resolutions that imposed the economic embargo against Iraq. But the OTHER NEGATIVE RESOLUTIONS AND MEASURES are a different matter. These would include bans by the U.S. and European nations imposed before invasion on the export of nuclear weapons technology to Iraq.

ISRAEL MUST WITHDRAW — Saddam gets to the point that has allowed him to pitch his seizure of Kuwait as the Arab world as an oblique thrust on behalf of the Palestinians.

Iraq denies the right of the Kuwait royal AL-SABAH FAMILY to return to power. For the dictator Saddam as call for recognition of "genuine democratic practice" is no small irony.

When making a wish list, the story's the limit. Saddam demands that the allies RECONSTRUCT "the damaged nation, but he does not mention the destruction of Kuwait.

Iraq signals to IRAN, once its bitter enemy, that they share an interest in fending off the formation of a postwar Gulf security arrangement that includes the U.S. and other Western nations.

In this crucial passage in which Iraq acknowledges the U.N. resolution demanding its withdrawal from Kuwait, the White House translation used here offers the ambiguous term TO DEAL WITH. Other translators have tried to get along with it — accept.

The phrase WILL BE LINKED TO is the one that convinced the U.S. that the offer was a sham. Is Saddam saying the conditions that follow must be met before his withdrawal? George Bush certainly thought so.

This phrase could be understood to require the U.S. to withdraw all ships stationed in the Gulf BEFORE the invasion of Kuwait. A condition the U.S. would never accept for these forces deployed after Aug. 2. Washington and London are expected to maintain weaponry in the region.

In Saddam's view Iraq's HISTORICAL RIGHTS include its claim to all of Kuwait.

Another pe-in-the-eyeball demand: Iraqiness. To invade Egypt fit its part in the allied coalition the U.S. wants all that nation's \$6.6 billion debt Iraq wants the same treatment from allied countries for itself — and Yemen, Jordan and Yemen.

Yet another reference to FOREIGN MILITARY BASES is a sign of Saddam's nervousness that a postwar Western presence in the Gulf will put a permanent brake on his ambitions.



More preparations for the climactic campaign: Marines prepare to board Sea Knight helicopters for deployment to forward positions

cohesion and fighting efficiency as well. Morale too, maybe: the Iraqis are being hurt by a growing trickle of desertions across the Saudi lines, and defectors say that others are throwing down their weapons and going north toward home. Said one Iraqi soldier in a group of 12 who surrendered to Egyptian forces last week: "Every night it is bomb, bomb, bomb. When we fought Iran, we had breakfast, lunch and dinner every day. Here there is no water, hardly anything to eat."

The prospect thus arises that a coalition ground assault could put an end to Saddam's army, his government and his position in the Middle East more quickly and at less cost to the U.S. and its allies than had seemed likely even a short time ago. That prospect in turn prompts three main lines of speculation on Iraq's motives in making last week's withdrawal-but offer:

Saddam is trying for a breathing space. He hopes to hold off the ground war and possibly suspend or lessen the bombing as well. The idea: Bush and his allies would not want to lay themselves open to the charge that they greatly, and unnecessarily, accelerated the bloodshed by rushing into a major campaign just when peace seemed attainable. A delay—better yet, a cease-fire—would give the Iraqis a chance to regroup for more fighting while haggling over terms. In fact, reports circu-

lated at week's end that Washington had agreed to a request by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev that it hold off on the land offensive at least until Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz visits Moscow this Monday.

Iraq is attempting once again to win by diplomacy what it cannot achieve on the battlefield. Saddam was already scoring some propaganda successes by playing up on world television screens the mangled bodies of civilians killed by American bombs in an air-raid shelter in Baghdad. The U.S. insisted it had evidence that the underground bunker had functioned as a military command-and-control center and that Washington had not known that civilians also used it. Nonetheless, growing revulsion against the bombing campaign had prompted some Arab nations and ostensible neutrals such as China to push for an immediate cease-fire. That probably would allow Iraq to stall endlessly on a more permanent settlement, figuring the allies would have a hard time justifying resumption of the war.

If that is in fact Saddam's game, it could backfire. Bush might actually start the ground offensive in a few days to head off pressure for a cease-fire that would leave Iraq in control of Kuwait. The Kuwaiti government in exile and, according to British sources, the Saudi and Egyptian govern-

ments—plus London itself—late last week were pressing the President to do exactly that. But Iraq had some prospects of winning diplomatic help from a far more powerful nation than any it had courted before: the Soviet Union.

Baghdad's Friday bombshell came two days after Yevgeny Primakov, Gorbachev's personal emissary, returned from a visit with Saddam, saying he had glimpsed a "ray of hope." The Revolutionary Command Council statement said Baghdad was offering withdrawal "in appreciation of the Soviet initiative," and Gorbachev, in turn, asserted that he was looking forward to a clarification from Aziz. A delegation of three foreign ministers from the European Community, led by Jacques Poos of Luxembourg, was due in Moscow over the weekend to get a firsthand Soviet report on the talks with Iraq. A Washington official sourly referred to the proceedings as a "mini peace conference."

The Soviets have repeatedly reassured the U.S. and its allies that they are loyal to U.N. resolutions demanding complete and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and have only been trying to persuade Baghdad that it must comply as the first step toward any kind of peace. But strong suspicions linger among the allies that Moscow, eager to preserve its superpower role and a strong part in the diplomacy of the Middle East, is trying to broker a set-

WAR ACTION

FEB. 11-17

Diplomacy...

FEB. 11

Bush denounces Saddam's intention to withdraw as nothing more than a "cruel hoax"



FEB. 11
Israeli Defense Minister Arlos meets Bush and Baker in Washington and indicates that Israeli patience is running thin

FEB. 12

British and French Colonies Ministers meet Bush, Cheney and Powell in Washington and express support for continuing the air war

FEB. 14

U.N. starts closed-door sessions to review the war and examine Iraq's offer to withdraw from Kuwait

FEB. 14

At Middle East Peace Talks, Israel's willingness to withdraw from occupied territories is discussed

FEB. 14

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FEB. 14

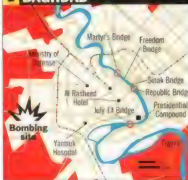
At Middle East Peace Talks, Israel's willingness to withdraw from occupied territories is discussed

FEB. 15

Iraq announces it is ready to "deal with the U.N. resolution calling for withdrawal from Kuwait, but with a condition"

...and bombs

1 BAGHDAD



In the continued air assault on Baghdad a large concrete bunker was hit, killing hundreds of civilians. Three downtown bridges were destroyed.

2 KUWAIT



Heavy bombing of Kuwait has increased. 1,300 of Iraq's 4,280 tanks and 1,100 of its 3,110 artillery pieces have been destroyed.

tlement that would save a good deal more of the hide of its old client Saddam than the U.S. and its European and Arab allies would want.

Saddam knows he has been beaten and is casting about for the best terms he can get.

A month of unrelenting aerial bombardment has so weakened his once menacing military machine that he no longer has any hope of stalemating an allied ground offensive; one way or another, he is going to have to get out of Kuwait. If he pulls out now, he can probably stay in power, save a good part of his army and even emerge as an Arab hero for having held out so long against the battering of a superpower and its allies. If he can negoti-

ate some terms to soften the sting—a Middle East peace conference, for example, that would enable him to claim he had forced the West to do something about the Palestinian problem—so much the better. If he tries to hold out even another month, however, he might well lose everything.

While this idea may seem to conflict with the extravagant conditions attached to Baghdad's offer, it rings true to many people mindful of Middle Eastern bargaining traditions (traditions, for that matter, that are scarcely unknown in the West, where many a labor negotiation begins with exorbitant union demands and a skinflint management offer that both sides know perfectly well are a charade). The Baghdad announcement marks "the beginning of

the endgame," said William Quandt, a former chief Middle East analyst at the National Security Council. Georgia Democrat Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, agreed: "In the Arab world, you always have to be prepared for bargaining, and this may be the opening gambit." And Saddam, for all his intense stubbornness, could reverse course overnight if that seems necessary or desirable. Witness his blithe return to Iran last summer of the pitifully little territory Iraq had gained during eight supremely bloody years of war between the two countries.

Wittingly or not, Saddam appeared to put greater pressure on himself to end the war too. The broadcast of the Revolutionary Command Council statement initially set off wild celebrations in Baghdad. Auto horns honked, people embraced each other in the streets and soldiers fired automatic weapons into the air, apparently in the belief that the war was as good as over. But as word of the long list of conditions circulated, the mood turned dejected, if not sullen. As an iron-fisted dictator who rules through fear, Saddam is immune to pressure from any Iraqi peace movement; there is none. But even he must be concerned with morale, and the crowd reactions indicate he might have difficulty rallying his people to endure still more bombing after having given them even a moment of hope for peace.

None of this means that peace is at hand. Even if Saddam tries to come up with a formula for withdrawal from Kuwait that would satisfy the allies, there is no assurance he can do so. Bush, Major and French President François Mitterrand all stressed last week that the U.N. demands for immediate and unconditional withdrawal mean exactly that, and they will settle for nothing less. Moreover, said all three, promises will not suffice; until Saddam actually begins a massive withdrawal, the war, and the bombing specifically, will continue as if nothing had happened.

Bush suggested another way to end the war. If the Iraqi army and people were "to take matters into their own hands to force Saddam Hussein, the dictator, to step aside," he said, Iraq could quickly "rejoin the family of peace-loving nations." That finally put on the record something that had long been obvious: Washington would really like to get rid of Saddam and his regime altogether. It would settle for a complete pullout from Kuwait because it has no choice: the U.N. resolutions under which the allies are fighting specify that and nothing more as the aim. Achieving even that, however, might still take weeks of a hard-fought ground campaign.

On the other hand, Saddam's hopes of winning the war politically—even his megalomania never foresaw anything better militarily than a bloody stalemate—have

The Gulf War

steadily eroded. His Scud attacks have failed to provoke Israel into retaliation and are a declining menace. Two missiles fired last week at Saudi Arabia broke apart in the sky; two more that landed in southern Iraq Saturday caused no reported injuries. His Persian Gulf oil spills have incited more world condemnation than fear, and his threats of triggering worldwide terrorism remain unrealized so far. Well before last week's withdrawal statement, the tone of Baghdad's propaganda had changed from swaggering bluster about blood and death to pleas for sympathy for Iraq as the victim of a savage bombing campaign.

That line had some effect. For Saddam, the U.S. hit on the air-raid shelter that, Baghdad said, killed several hundred civilians was manna from propaganda heaven. For millions of people around the world, pictures of the broken bodies dug out of the rubble drove home the horror of a war that until then had seemed, at least on the TV screens, to be rather tame. One of the minor mysteries of the statement about potential withdrawal, in fact, was why Iraq diverted attention away from the civilian deaths before the reaction to them had quite built to a climax.

That reaction would not have saved Saddam in any case, though. Strong as the Arab anger was, it was not quite sufficient to shake the governments (Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria) that have made major troop commitments to the coalition. The U.S. and its European allies suffered little if any public backlash against the war. In retrospect, generals played down too much the inevitability of civilian deaths in any bombing campaign. But Westerners, while shocked, seemed to accept the explanations that the U.S. was not directly targeting civilians; that Saddam in contrast was deliberately putting them in harm's way by placing military installations in schools, homes and residential areas; and that much of the tragedy resulted because civilian and military targets are often one and the same. An obvious example: knocking out a country's electric grid cuts off the power to army bases, airports and military computers, but also to schools, homes and hospitals, and the engineers killed in the bombing of generating plants are likely to be civilians.

The imperfect success of the propaganda campaign leaves Iraq with one big hope for a face-saving way out of the war: Soviet diplo-

macy. Moscow has not only gone along with the U.S. demand that Iraq get out of Kuwait completely and unconditionally but also helped draft the U.N. resolution authorizing the use of force if Saddam did not comply by Jan. 15. That, however, was when *glasnost* and democratization were in full flower, and Eduard Shevardnadze, a professed friend of the U.S., was Foreign Minister.

Since Gorbachev turned sharply back toward authoritarianism and Shevardnadze resigned, the Kremlin has seemed to be playing a double game. In the past two weeks, Gorbachev has complained that the U.S. bombing of Iraq was going beyond the U.N. mandate to liberate Kuwait and threatening a wider, out-of-control war—but simultaneously that Iraq had brought the bombs down on its own head by refusing to get out of Kuwait. His dispatch of Primakov to Baghdad has stirred considerable unease in the West, where the envoy is widely regarded as a Saddam sympathizer.

Gorbachev is feeling heavy pressure at home to help Iraq. He is under intense fire from hard-liners who accuse him of giving away Eastern Europe for nothing and kowtowing to Washington in other ways. The Soviet military, which is gaining greatly in influence, is still nostalgic for the old alliance with Iraq; more than a few generals have built careers managing the Iraqi account. Most of Saddam's weapons and mil-

itary equipment are Soviet designed and built. Kremlin generals are not at all happy about the well-publicized destruction of so much of it by what appear to be superior American weapons. They are even less charmed by the thought of a triumphant American Army perched almost on the U.S.S.R.'s southern doorstep.

Most important of all, Gorbachev has been rather plaintively contending lately that the Soviet Union is still a superpower. One way to prove it would be to broker a settlement in the Middle East that would guarantee Moscow a major postwar role in the diplomacy of that vital region.

It is not impossible that Saddam Hussein could pull out of Kuwait if he accepted a Soviet proposal, without suffering the humiliation of bowing to American demands, in order to avert a total defeat. It has long been obvious to just about the entire world that Saddam had no hope of beating, or in the long run even holding out against, the full military might of a grand coalition led by the reigning superpower. It has taken a month of the most intense and destructive bombing in history, and may yet take some savage and bloody ground fighting, to accomplish. But maybe, just maybe, that same idea is at last being hammered into the head of the one person who has stubbornly refused to accept it: Saddam Hussein.

—Reported by James Carney/Moscow, William Dowell/Dhahran and Christopher Ogden/Washington



After U.S. bombs hit a Baghdad shelter, crowds gather around a flatbed truck as it removes bodies

The pictures are certain to grow far grimmer for both sides once the ground war begins.

NATION PREPARES FOR LEANER TIMES

The Skinniest Six

ROUND TIP

131 calories
5 grams total fat*
(12.1 grams sat.)

TOP LOIN

127 calories
8.5 grams total fat*
(18.1 grams sat.)

TOP ROUND

151 calories
4.2 grams total fat*
(11.9 grams sat.)

EYE OF ROUND

153 calories
4.2 grams total fat*
(11.9 grams sat.)

TENDERLOIN

129 calories
8.5 grams total fat*
(18.1 grams sat.)

TOP SIRLOIN

166 calories
6.1 grams total fat*
(12.9 grams sat.)

BEEF AND TODAY'S HEALTH STAMPEDE

These are leaner times. Conspicuous consumption is out. The basics are back. People are eating lighter, leaner foods. And here's the whole story:

Calories:

the inside account.

The Skinniest Six cuts of beef are surprisingly lean and low in calories. In fact, three ounces of lean, trimmed beef average a mere 180 calories*. Makes you stop and think. About beef.

fajitas and Japanese steak salad.

Cholesterol: perception vs. reality

This should make headlines: lean, trimmed beef has no more cholesterol than chicken — without the skin.

While chicken does have less fat, moderate servings of beef fit easily within leading dietary guidelines.

Nutritional facts rounded up.

Lean beef has a high ratio of nutrients to calories. Number crunchers take note: Three ounces supply 38%

of the U.S. RDA for vitamin B-12 and zinc. Plus a generous 56% of U.S. RDA for protein. Not to mention 14% of the recommendation for iron. That's quite a mouthful.

Wisdom to steer by.

Nutritionists recommend a balanced, varied diet and leaner cuts of meat. Training gurus push aerobic exercise. Stress management types suggest a month in the Bahamas.

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SKINNY FACTS

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Beef is a good source of protein and iron. Beef is a good source of protein and iron.

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CONSEQUENCES

What If Saddam Pulls Out?

Iraq will emerge with its military substantially defanged, if not yet completely tamed, but its menacing President might keep his job

By LISA BEYER



The first word of Iraq's peace proposal last week touched off rapturous celebrations in Baghdad, expressions of relief mixed with skepticism from allied

troops and burgeoning peace hopes around the world. At the White House, however, there was surprise at the move and concern that a hastily arranged ceasefire might scuttle Washington's goal of neutralizing the Iraqi military and toppling Saddam Hussein. By attaching impossible conditions to the proposal, Baghdad ensured that it would be rejected by the coalition and that hostilities would continue—for now. But Saddam may soon find it necessary, particularly after the start of a ground battle, to make a serious peace offer that Washington can't refuse. What then?

The exact shape of a postwar scenario, of course, would depend on the details of the Iraqi proposal and of the negotiations that would follow. But it is possible to sketch the broad outlines. The most significant fact is that Iraq will emerge from battle with the menacing, bristling war machine that Saddam built up over the past decade substantially defanged, if not yet completely tamed. The allies have seen to that from the first days of the war, knocking out Iraq's ability, at least for the time being, to produce chemical, biological and nuclear arms and later obliterating about a third of its tanks and artillery.

But has Baghdad's military been weakened enough? Washington's goal has never been to liquidate Iraq's armed forces. Rather, the objective was to leave the country with enough military power to defend against hostile neighbors—but not so much that it could continue to threaten them. A rough gauge of where that balance lies can be found in the military muscle of Iran and Syria, the two heavies that Iraq's forces must counterweigh. Iran commands 504,000 soldiers, 185 combat aircraft and perhaps 500 tanks. Syria has 404,000 troops, 558 combat planes and 4,000 tanks. Iraq's losses in the current struggle have pared its hardware roughly to Syria's level. But since a country that is only defending its territory generally needs less firepower than its attacker, Iraq's weaponry could



Saddam: Vulnerable to a coup?

still use considerable trimming, say U.S. military planners. As for manpower, though it is not known exactly how many Iraqi soldiers have been killed by allied bombardments, no one believes that Saddam's forces, once 1 million strong, have yet been drawn down to the levels of the other regional powers.

Consequently Iraq's neighbors are far from ready to trust Saddam again—even if he withdraws completely from Kuwait. The Gulf states and Saudi Arabia must find better ways of defending themselves than they had before Aug. 2. One possibility is that they will offer Egypt financial inducements to remain in the region as a deterrent force. Cairo sent two of its crack armored divisions to Saudi Arabia and does not expect them back in the foreseeable future.

The Western forces, in contrast, will probably leave the Gulf fairly rapidly. Al-



By cozying up to Baghdad, Yasser Arafat has jeopardized his participation in negotiations for a Palestinian solution



Despite their current squabbles, prospects are good that King Hussein and President Bush will patch things up after the war



The personal enmity between Hafez Assad and Saddam will continue to shape the region's politics

though Washington may leave some troops in the region temporarily, a permanent military presence would probably provoke more political trouble than it would be worth. It would be preferable if nearly all the non-Arabs were out of the area before the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca begins in June, but that timetable is probably unrealistic. Once the Westerners do leave, United Nations troops, including Arab units, are likely to provide peacekeeping forces in Kuwait, though the Western powers will have Kuwait's open invitation to return if necessary.

To ensure that Saddam cannot patiently rebuild his military to its former glory, the U.S. and Britain will seek to maintain sanctions forbidding the sale to Iraq of weapons and munitions or the equipment for domestically producing them. Historically such embargoes have

proved very leaky. At the moment, as many as 110 German firms are under investigation for breaking or attempting to circumvent the U.N. embargoes against any kind of trade with Iraq.

The prospect of a still powerful Iraq would be far less worrisome if Saddam were not at the helm. His continuation in power would be a great disappointment to the allies. It is conceivable that a surrender, however artfully packaged, would leave Saddam vulnerable to a coup. The euphoria in Baghdad that initially greeted reports of the pullout offer suggests a high level of public anxiety over the war. To have been subjected to such horrific bombings and wind up with nothing to show for it might be too much for some Iraqis. But the decisive question is whether it would be too much for the small circle of officials Saddam allows to get near him.

Given the sudden political shifts that are commonplace in the Arab world, it is possible that most of the Arab governments standing against Saddam may make amends to him after the war. Two exceptions: Syria's President Hafez Assad, who has a long-running personal rivalry with Saddam, and the Emir of Kuwait. At the same time, Jordan's King Hussein and President Bush are expected to patch things up. Bush still prefers the King to the more radical regime that would most likely replace him, while Hussein is eager for renewed financial assistance from the West and the Saudis.

Containing Arab resentment over the allied pounding of Iraq could prove a difficult and delicate task. Above all, it will require a serious effort—especially on the part of the U.S.—to pursue a settlement of the Palestinian problem. Who will speak for the Palestinians is a crucial unresolved question. By allying himself with Saddam, P.L.O. Chairman Yasser Arafat has made himself more unpalatable than ever to the West; he has long been anathema to the Israelis. Given Arafat's exploded credibility, some Western diplomats say their governments might again look to King Hussein as the Palestinians' spokesman.

Whoever speaks for the Palestinians will find Israel a prickly interlocutor. The target of dozens of unprovoked Scud attacks, the Israelis will be in no mood to compromise and may use Saddam's continued leadership as yet another excuse to avoid negotiations. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir put it bluntly last week: "There can be no peace in the region so long as Saddam Hussein remains in power." But Shamir has yet to face the fact that, regardless of Saddam's personal fate, the Middle East will never achieve a lasting peace until Israelis and Palestinians are ready to sit down and talk seriously about the future. —Reported by Scott MacLeod/Amman and Christopher Ogden/Washington

America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

Living with Saddam

In the heat of battle, too much victory may be hard to imagine, but the leaders of the coalition arrayed against Iraq should remember Versailles. By imposing an excess of defeat on Germany in 1919, the winners inadvertently stirred resentment among the losers that led to political extremism and eventually to another war.

Many Arabs and, more generally, many Muslims identify with Saddam Hussein precisely because he is losing on what they see as a heroic, even mythic scale. For them, his plight is a symbol of their own victimization by the rich and powerful nations of the world. No matter how and when the war ends, Islamic rage already threatens the stability of traditionally pro-Western regimes from Morocco to Jordan to Pakistan. Blunting that trend is more important than seeing Saddam get what he deserves.

His opponents want him not just out of Kuwait but off this planet. That goes for all the active combatants and many interested bystanders as well. The govern-

ment in Tehran hopes that someone other than Saddam will eventually present the claim check for the Iraqi warplanes now parked in Iran. The Israelis have a tacit deal with Washington: they stay out of the fighting, and the U.S. rids the neighborhood of its No. 1 menace.

For George Bush, too, this thing is personal. While the U.S. Army and Marines prepared to go whirling and clanking and blasting their way north, U.S. government lawyers were beavering away on a brief for the prosecution of



Islamic rage: a pro-Saddam demonstrator in Jordan

the ground war all the way to Baghdad. Certainly by scudding Israel and launching oil slicks at desalination plants, Saddam justified expanding the war aims beyond the liberation of Kuwait. A presidential adviser remarked, "We're almost counting on this guy to use chemical weapons to clinch the case for dealing with him as a war criminal when this is over."

Indeed his opponents may have to deal with him for a while longer as President of Iraq. First came signals from Moscow that Saddam's former benefactors in the Kremlin are determined to save his skin, his face, even his job. Then came the news from Baghdad that Saddam's battered legions might get out of Kuwait one step ahead of a coalition offensive. Hence the note of frustration in Bush's voice Friday as he all but begged the Iraqi armed forces to "take matters into their own hands," thus doing what not even the smartest bomb in the U.S. arsenal has been able to accomplish.

From the beginning, Saddam's objective has been his personal survival. His strategy has been to play for a lopsided stalemate, sacrificing pawns (his citizens' lives) and pieces (his best weapons) as long as the king is still standing.

So let it stand, at least for the next phase of the game. When this battle was joined on Jan. 16, Saddam had two major assets: the ability to conquer other countries and, in his occupation of Kuwait, proof of his willingness to do so. He has already lost much of the first, and he may abandon all of the second. If so, the coalition can deprive him of a third asset, his political appeal as a martyr, by ending hostilities.

The U.N. sanctions, meanwhile, can and should continue. When Saddam emerges from his bunker, blinking into the sunlight, he will face the devastation he has brought down on his people as well as an embargo that could last as long as he is in power. Perhaps then, finally, there will be a genuinely Arab—indeed, Iraqi—solution to the real problem Saddam represents, which is aggression and its consequences for everyone involved. Checkmate: the king is dead. ■

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True



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BIODEGRADABILITY IS NOT THE SOLUTION FOR SOLID WASTE PROBLEMS.

True. Today's landfills are designed to inhibit biodegradation so that nothing readily degrades; not polystyrene, not paper, not even food wastes.³



1. Franklin Associates, Ltd. "Resource and Environmental Profile Analysis of Foam Polystyrene and Bleached Paperboard Containers," June 1990. 2. Environmental Protection Agency, "Characterization of Municipal Solid Waste in the United States," 1990. 3. William Rathje, Professor of Anthropology, University of Arizona, June 1989.



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The Gulf War

THE AIR WAR

How Targets Are Chosen

The tragedy in Baghdad reveals the painstaking methods used to identify military installations and—usually—to spare civilians

By **BRUCE W. NELAN**



The Stealth fighter-bombers located their target in the 4 a.m. darkness over Baghdad. Their laser-guided, 2,000-lb. bombs hit their mark with pinpoint accuracy. They cut through 12 ft. of reinforced concrete and exploded, peeling away the protective cover and destroying the bunker.

It was a perfect example of the kind of precise, high-technology air war the allies have conducted against Iraq. It was also a tragedy: the bunker was filled with Iraqi civilians who had taken refuge there from nighttime raids on the capital. But U.S. officials insisted that there had been no mistake and the bunker was, in fact, a military communications center. "From the military point of view, nothing went wrong," said Brigadier General Richard Neal, the briefing officer in Saudi Arabia. "The target was hit as designated."

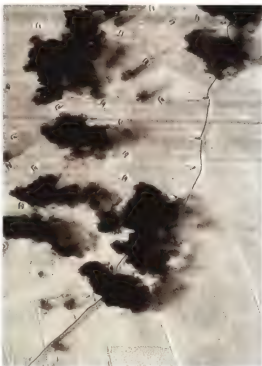
In recent wars most civilian casualties have come among those who have had the misfortune to live near military installations and to be hit by badly aimed bombs. That has probably occurred in Baghdad as well, but not this time. The dispute here is whether the bunker was an ordinary civilian bomb shelter, as the Iraqis insist, or a former shelter recently converted to military use, as the U.S. command maintains.

American officers say flatly they do not target civilian buildings. This is something they have stressed since the war began, and the overall allied commander, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, contends that his pilots take additional risks to avoid hitting civilians. Pilots approach targets closer than might otherwise be the case, flying lower and slower. They take extra time on the bombing run, which means they are more vulnerable to Iraqi missiles.

The intelligence analysis U.S. officials offered last week to buttress their case reveals a great deal about the painstaking methods they use in the air war in the gulf. Preparations for the strike on the bunker began months before the bombs actually fell. The CIA, for example, interviewed contractors and workers, including Kore-

ans and Pakistanis, who constructed the bunker and about 20 others like it in Baghdad during the Iran-Iraq war.

Satellite photographs of the building showed at least two additions: a newly hardened roof and communications equipment that was protected against the electromagnetic effects of nuclear blasts. The satellites also snapped pictures of military vehicles parked outside and men in uni-



French Jaguar fighters bomb Iraq's Republican Guard

Fitting dug-in tanks is less ambiguous than raiding cities.

form entering and exiting the building. A wire-mesh fence surrounded the bunker; its roof had been painted with camouflage and fake bomb holes.

The clincher came last month, when U.S. intelligence satellites picked up radio transmissions from the bunker, sending orders to Iraqi military units in the Kuwait theater of operations. Missing from the accumulated evidence were any photos of civilians entering the bunker at night in search of safety. American officers say they assumed that civilians were being kept out because it was a military security area and the wire-mesh fence was there for that purpose.

This particular bunker became a target because of the effectiveness of earlier U.S. attacks on Baghdad. In the opening days of the war, the allies' strategic objective was to "decapitate" the Iraqi armed forces, to cut Saddam Hussein and his top officers off from the army in the south. Bombing raids were mounted to destroy command headquarters and military communications centers in the heart of the capital. As these were knocked out, the task of coordinating the armed forces was decentralized to secondary posts in the suburbs—like the one hit last week.

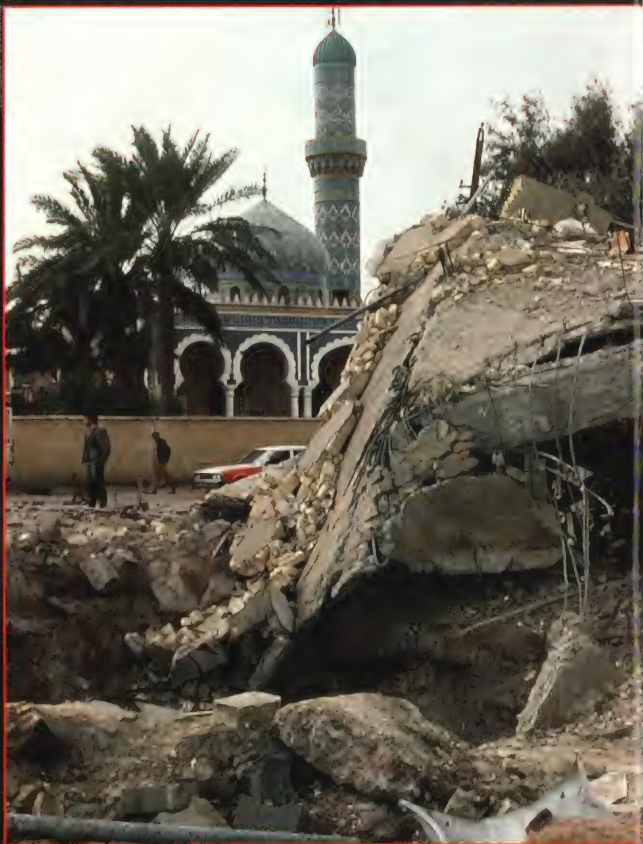
Weeks before the war began, the U.S. Central Command had compiled a priority list of targets. At the top, along with command-and-control facilities, were military production centers, power and water supplies, and bridges and roads leading south to Kuwait. Most of those have been destroyed. The main bombing wave is moving south, onto the Iraqi army that is dug in facing Saudi Arabia.

Attacking a tank in the desert is far less ambiguous than picking out one building in a crowded neighborhood for demolition. The campaign against Iraq's dug-in divisions is a textbook exercise in air warfare: hundreds of planes are in the sky every day, with F-15s flying a protective patrol high above, while attack planes blast away at tanks, artillery pieces and ammunition dumps below.

Fighter-bomber pilots have divided the battlefield into small, lettered squares on the map called "killing zones." Working their way across the desert, sector by sector, spotters direct strike planes onto specific targets on the ground. Electronic-warfare planes black out ground-based Iraqi radar, as airborne tankers circle lazily to refuel the fighters that line up behind them. The whole armada is choreographed by controllers in AWACS radar planes, who see everything in the air for more than 200 miles in

any direction. The Iraqis in Kuwait, says Captain Jessie Morimoto, a U.S. Air Force intelligence officer, have "stopped operating as a national army. What they're doing now is trying to defend themselves as people."

These direct attacks on Iraqi forces have already destroyed as much as a third of their armor and artillery. Warfare will never be foolproof, and air power alone has yet to win a war. But once the ground attack begins, allied pilots will learn soon enough whether their efforts have greatly improved the chances for a swift breakthrough. —*Reported by William Dowell/Dhahran and Bruce van Voorst/Washington*





War of Images

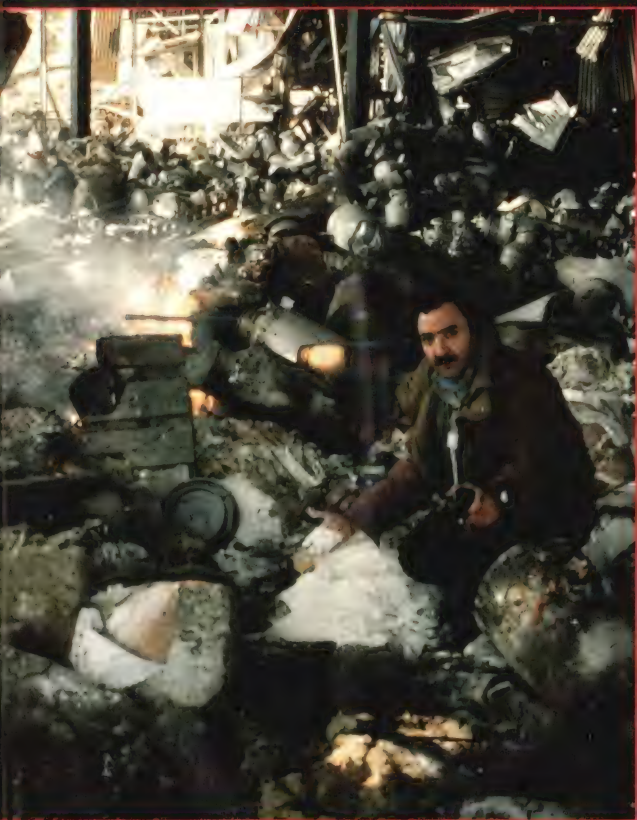


For weeks, the dominant image of the gulf battle was a grainy video clip, cross hairs bouncing slightly as a tiny bomb headed for a tiny building and (slight pause) a tiny puff of smoke exploded across the screen. The pictures made the war seem remote and bloodless. But last week Saddam Hussein discovered the power of images. Photographers were allowed access to the tragedy that resulted when the allies bombed a building in Baghdad where hundreds had taken refuge. Those pictures—and the ones on these pages from elsewhere in Baghdad and from Basra—put the human impact of the war into focus. But they cannot tell the whole story. They do not show Saddam's destruction of Kuwait, where no photographers can go. And they do not show the large areas of Baghdad (like the mosque at left) that have remained untouched throughout the carefully targeted air campaign.

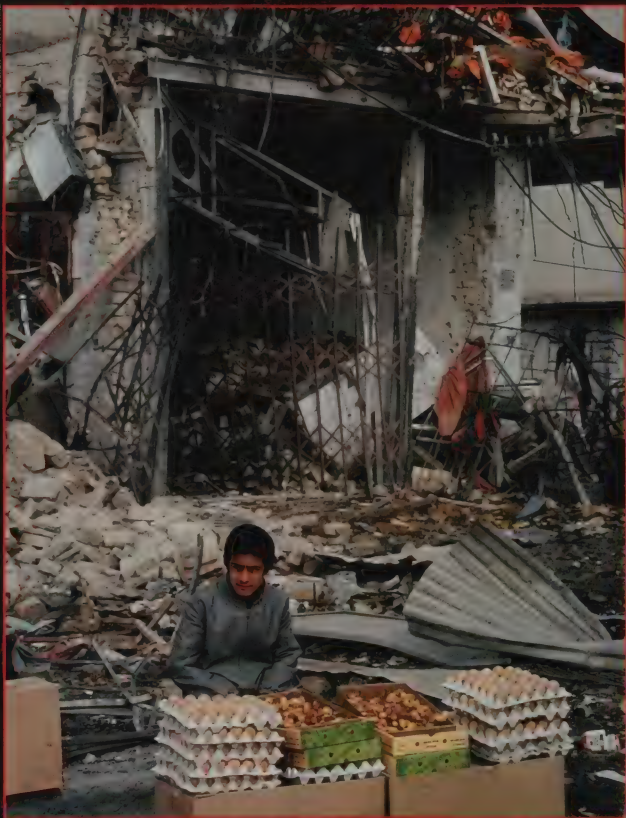
■ One of a row of shops flattened by allied bombs in Baghdad; across the street, life goes on



■ Two survivors of a bombing raid in Baghdad's Azimer district that Iraqis said killed eight people



■ Picking through the rubble of a building that was claimed by the Iraqis to be a baby-milk factory but that the allies contended was a chemical-weapons plant



■ An Iraqi boy sells produce in front of bombed shops and homes near Baghdad's Ministry of Justice



ALAMY/REUTERS—SAMIA LASSON FOR THE

■ The remains of a bridge across the Tigris River in Nasiriya, near Basra, after an allied attack



—ALEXANDER CECILIANI—GPIA FOR THE

■ A young boy nurses his crudely mended leg after being injured by shrapnel while playing on a Basra street



—GUSTAVO—GPIA FOR THE

■ The transmission tower still stands above a gutted communications center in downtown Baghdad

STRATEGY

Fighting a Battle by the Book

A military plan designed to fight World War III will get its first real test on the ground and in the skies over the Persian Gulf

By PHILIP ELMER-DEWITT



The U.S. plan for fighting a ground war remains, quite properly, a national secret. But by examining the basic tenets of U.S. military strategy, it is possible to draw a fairly detailed picture of what an allied ground campaign might look like. The key, say defense analysts, is an obscure Army publication called *Field Manual 100-5*. It lays out the principles of "AirLand Battle," a military doctrine taught to every American Army plebe and war-college student since the early 1980s.

An AirLand ground battle would bear little resemblance to the World War I-style frontal assault that Saddam Hussein's generals seem to be bracing to fight. "Don't give me a meat grinder," General Norman Schwarzkopf has repeatedly told his operations planners. Instead, AirLand doctrine calls for air attacks on the enemy's rear areas to cut off supply lines, destroy command-and-control centers, and strike at reinforcing units in order to isolate the battlefield.

The strategy is aimed, ultimately, less at Iraq's weapons and troops than at the enemy's mind. Ground units would make deep, rapid thrusts through enemy lines; troops would take advantage of the combined effect of artillery, air support, naval bombardment and armored assaults on targets carefully chosen to throw the enemy off balance by spreading fear, confusion and dismay. Says Lieut. General Charles Horner, commander of the combined air forces in the gulf war, who worked closely with the Army on the latest version of *Field Manual 100-5*: "The idea is to feed the enemy in bite-size chunks to the ground forces to devour."

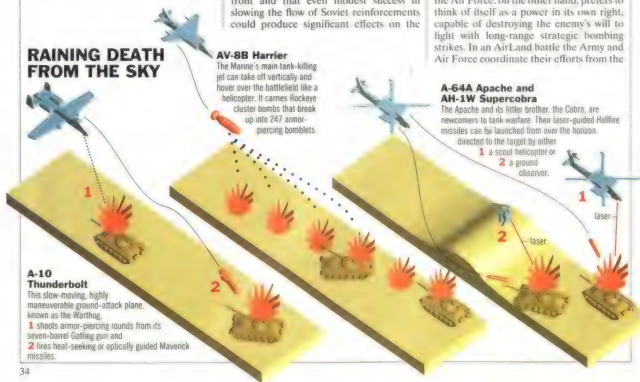
The AirLand scheme was devised as the battle plan for World War III. Its roots go back to the 1970s, when NATO strategists were trying to figure out how to defend Europe from an attack by overwhelming numbers of Soviet tanks. The key was to fall back on the front while trying to disrupt Soviet supply lines from the rear. A seminal 1979 study by Joseph Braddock, a military consultant, showed that the U.S. could predict the location of Soviet armor units as they moved up toward the front and that even modest success in slowing the flow of Soviet reinforcements could produce significant effects on the

battlefield, tipping the balance just enough to give NATO forces temporary tactical superiority.

For an AirLand battle to succeed, commanders must learn to plan ahead: they must sequence operations so that the effect of a deep attack on Day One will be felt precisely when those crippled rear forces are needed at the front on Day Five. Relying less on brute force than on operational elegance, it requires commanders to concentrate their efforts on attacking the right thing in the right place at the right time. The enemy's crucial "center of gravity"—a term borrowed from Prussian strategist Karl von Clausewitz—is that target whose destruction will have the greatest ripple effect on the enemy's overall military operations.

The debate over whether a land war is even necessary largely misses the point. Much of that discussion is a continuation of the World War II-era argument between the Army and the Air Force about the proper use of air power. Traditionally, the Army has considered the Air Force an adjunct to its ground forces, providing close-air support for tactical maneuvers; the Air Force, on the other hand, prefers to think of itself as a power in its own right, capable of destroying the enemy's will to fight with long-range strategic bombing strikes. In an AirLand battle the Army and Air Force coordinate their efforts from the

RAINING DEATH FROM THE SKY



AV-8B Harrier

The *Harrier*'s main tank-killing jet can take off vertically and hover over the battlefield like a helicopter. It carries *Rocket* cluster bombs that break up into 247 armor-piercing bomblets.

A-64 Apache and AH-1W Supercobra

The Apache and its littler brother, the Cobra, are newcomers to tank warfare. Their laser-guided Hellfire missiles can be launched from over the horizon, directed to the target by either

- 1 a scout helicopter or
- 2 a ground observer.

A-10 Thunderbolt

This slow-moving, highly maneuverable ground-attack plane, known as the *Warthog*,

- 1 shoots armor-piercing rounds from its seven-barrel Gatling gun and
- 2 fires heat-seeking or optically guided Maverick missiles.

start. A senior Army official described it as "holding the enemy down in the rear while you gobble him up piecemeal in the front."

The entire allied campaign thus far has unfolded like a classic AirLand operation. In this case, the allies had the luxury of starting with the air war. It began with deep strikes against strategic targets (including major command-and-control centers and facilities for producing chemical and biological weapons) and with missions aimed at giving the allies air superiority (attacks on air-defense sites, airstrips and Iraqi planes).

In a matter of days, the bombing campaign shifted to "deep interdiction targets"—military jargon for communications facilities, major highways and bottlenecks in supply lines. As a senior Navy official discussing air strikes against Iraqi bridges put it, "All those bridges are AirLand bridges."

Within a week, the bombers began zeroing in on what allied commanders calculated to be Iraq's center of gravity. That could be almost anything: a function, like command and control; a symbol, like the ziggurat at Ur; or a person, like Saddam Hussein. But the allied commanders decided that in this war the center of gravity is the Republican Guard, the well-trained, highly mobile 150,000-man force that Saddam relies on for operational flexibility near Kuwait. "If you can destroy the Republican Guard," says a senior Army planner, "you will unravel the entire Iraqi army. The rest of them will be like fish in a barrel."

In the days before the start of a ground offensive, according to the AirLand scheme, the focus of the air attacks moves closer and closer to the front—tanks, troops, minefields and artillery emplacements. Analysts say there is no need to destroy the Republican Guard and other troops "in detail": the rule of thumb is that when units suffer 30% attrition, they usually experience a sudden, sharp decline in capability. When that happens, the enemy loses the ability to respond to an invasion.

That is the moment for the final push on the ground.

The land battle called for by the AirLand doctrine would be violent and swift. Following Schwarzkopf's battlefield dictum, "Surround 'em and pound 'em," allied forces have been pushing steadily west along Saudi Arabia's border with Iraq, where the minefields start to dribble out and the Iraqi forces are stretched thin. One scenario calls for allied armored divisions to burst through the battle line and begin a high-speed flanking movement, with tanks, armored personnel carriers and mobile rocket launchers racing to cut off whatever remains of Saddam's Republican Guard forces.

Another possibility is that the Army's XVIII Airborne Corps will attack the Iraqi town of Najaf, a transportation hub halfway between Baghdad and the Saudi border that could act as an allied supply-and-staging post. Speed is critical to concentrate forces for an attack and then disperse before the enemy can pull itself together for a counterattack.

Armchair strategists speculate that the armored attack to the west might be accompanied by a Marine amphibious landing on the Kuwaiti coast, using high-speed hovercraft and "vertical envelopment"—meaning helicopters—to disgorge large numbers of troops onto the beaches. Others envision a key role for the American paratroop units—the 82nd and 101st Airborne divisions.

While the Army and Marine divisions form a giant pincer to isolate the Iraqi forces on the battlefield, the airborne troops could be dropped behind enemy lines from Black Hawk helicopters to lure the Republican Guards out of their tank bunkers. Once in the open, the Guards would be easy pickings for allied tank killers like the Thunderbolt and Harrier jets and the Apache and Cobra helicopters.

In the AirLand scenario, the long-awaited face-off between the U.S.'s high-tech M1A1 tank, with its turbine engine and depleted-uranium armor, and the battle-tested Soviet-built T-72, with its devastating 125-mm gun, would never come to

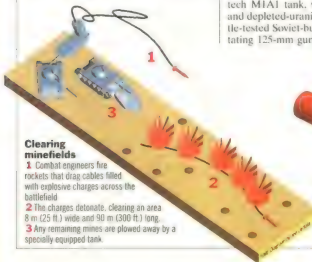
pass. Iraq's heavy armor would be kept at arm's length, picked off from a distance by armor-piercing rounds, laser-guided Hellfires and heat-seeking Mavericks fired from the air. Scout planes and helicopters would identify targets, "squirt" them with lasers, and guide helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft in for the kill. "The point is to reduce our casualty rates by staying out of the enemy's range," said division commander General Paul Funk.

That's the theory. How it will work remains to be seen. An AirLand battle requires long-range planning, superb coordination, perfect timing, uninterrupted communications, pinpoint accuracy, constant high-speed maneuvering by ground forces and well-executed logistics. Getting fuel and ammunition to tank battalions traveling up to 120 miles a day calls for a massive resupply operation that leaves little room for error. The moment a unit stops moving, the battle risks degeneration into a war of attrition in which both sides would take casualties until the less powerful force is worn down to a nub.

With their troops poised to attack, allied commanders were haunted by last-minute doubts. Had General Schwarzkopf correctly assessed the all-important center of gravity? Would chemical weapons disrupt the delicate timing of the attack? Could U.S. forces outpace the Republican Guard in a desert the Iraqis know well? And is the troops' equipment—particularly the portable antitank weaponry—up to the job?

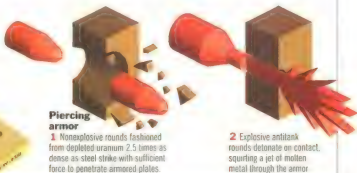
These fears are natural and healthy. Battle plans do go awry, and tens of thousands of lives are at stake. There are parts of the AirLand doctrine—the full-fledged combined-arms ground offensive in particular—that have never been tested on a battlefield. But the allied command has been running an AirLand battle by the book for more than four weeks now, demonstrating that it can coordinate large, mobile forces with the requisite precision and skill. If the next phase of the battle goes as smoothly, a strategy designed for the plains of Central Europe will have been validated in the sands of the gulf.

—Reported by
Dean Fischer/Dhahran and Jay Paterzell and
Bruce van Voorst/Washington



Clearing minefields

- 1 Combat engineers fire rockets that drag cables filled with explosive charges across the battlefield.
- 2 The charges detonate, clearing an area 8 m (25 ft) wide and 90 m (300 ft) long.
- 3 Any remaining mines are plowed away by a specially equipped tank.



Piercing armor

- 1 Nonexplosive rounds fashioned from depleted uranium 2.5 times as dense as steel strike with sufficient force to penetrate armored plates.
- 2 Explosive antitank rounds detonate on contact, squaring a jet of molten metal through the armor.



THE SOLDIERS

Life on the Line

For the grunts in the northern desert, the war is a tale of dark fear, deep pride, lost mail, long waits and improvisation

By **NANCY GIBBS**



To the ground soldiers of Operation Desert Storm, the shortest road home from Saudi Arabia cuts through Kuwait. But the prospect of traveling along it fills the grunts with dread.

In the evening, when the meals are over and the winds pick up and the temperatures drop below freezing, there are words of comfort. Some come from tentmates, some from letters, some from the radio muttering at cotside 24 hours a day. There are favorite songs, including one that is

making the rounds of tents and bunkers in northern Saudi Arabia. It is a verse for a soldier, the 91st Psalm.

*Under his wings you will find refuge.
His faithfulness is a shield and
buckler.*

Life at the front is a song of dark fear, deep pride, lost mail, long waits and improvisation. The white heat of the summer is hard to remember now, when it becomes cold enough at night to leave ice rattling inside canteens. At the very front lines, the motto is "Travel light, freeze at night." Soldiers sleep in parka linings, with socks on their hands if their mittens are missing.

They wish they could requisition extra toes.

It is a nuisance to lug around gas masks and protective gear, but no one complains. For the troops on the ground, the greatest fear is of chemical attack, a strike by an enemy they cannot see. "You imagine walking around, and your buddy is lying on the ground having convulsions, and you have to inject him with atropine," says Private First Class Myra Camacho, 26, of Brooklyn, N.Y. That is why the troops love the chickens.

Near the gas-monitoring machines and scattered around the bases are live chickens. The machines' sirens will sound if there are chemical agents in the air, but the birds are the backup. Coal miners used ca-



Touch someone: Marines line up at a field telephone to catch a satellite home

whose job is to watch and listen and assemble information on Iraqi troop movements. Fires are outlawed for heating or cooking; hot coffee comes from tiny butane heaters hidden in cardboard boxes. Nights are so quiet that a cough can be heard from 400 yds., and the land is so barren that a single twisted piece of brush becomes a landmark known as the Tree. "It's easy to get lost out here. There are no terrain features," says Captain Scott Barrington, 29, of Chester, Va. "It's like the K mart parking lot."

*Because he cleaves to me in love, I
will deliver him. I will protect
him, because he knows my name.*

The soldiers are older (average age: 27, compared with 21 in Vietnam) and better trained than the troops of past wars. More than 95% of last year's recruits had graduated from high school, in contrast to 54% a decade ago, and they are more physically fit. "I hate the new Army," says a sergeant as he tries to bum a cigarette. "Nobody smokes."

This profile has confounded some traditions about what makes a good soldier. Military conventional wisdom warns against infantry soldiers who are too smart or inclined to dwell on the risks entailed in combat. "But you can't have space-age hardware without space-age personnel," says Lieut. Colonel Alexander Angelle, a former recruiting officer now in the gulf. "Some people ask, 'Don't street fighters make better soldiers?' The answer is 'No, they don't.' They require more discipline and are less able to get the job done."

Six out of 10 soldiers are married, up from 40% in 1970. Since the U.S. buildup began, some 14,000 of them have learned, via Red Cross telegrams, that their wives have given birth. "You've got a real debate going now," says Martin Binkin, a military manpower expert at the Brookings Institution. "Some say an older soldier with a stable family life makes for a better soldier. On the other hand, someone with dependents has lots to think about, especially if he's in the desert for six to eight months and is worried about a sick child."

The women, universally known as "females," who make up about one-tenth of the armed forces, are writing the rules as they go along. The Saudi government, rejecting the idea of female soldiers coming to their defense, designates them as males with female features. Some women are in traditional support roles as cooks, clerks and nurses. But they are also armorers, fire fighters, strategic planners and intelligence officers, serving close to the fire zone.

Enlisted women have their own tent and their own latrine. That rare concession to gender does not guarantee much privacy, since most latrines are plywood out-houses with wire screens from the waist up.

The men seem to take the women's presence in stride. "Once you work with

them enough, they realize that you're a soldier like they are," says Lieut. Lynnel Bifora, 23, of Mohawk, N.Y., of the XVIII Airborne Corps. "I won't let them carry gear for me. I like to tell them that a bullet has no gender. Combat has no gender. You can kill the chivalry bit." She admits that it would be nice to put on a dress again, and clings to what femininity she can. "You can be tough and strong and still be a female," she says. "You don't need to be foul-mouthed and spit."

*A thousand may fall at your side, ten
thousand at your right hand; but
it will not come near you.*

All along the northern line, the days are passed with digging. Divisions arriving at the front make their homes with a shovel. Everyone, from the lowest privates to the officers and chaplains, digs. "Each shovel I scoop out means I might save an arm," says Private Gregory White, 20, of Los Angeles, the 82nd Airborne. "The next shovel means I might save a leg." The initial hole is called a "hasty" or a "run and dive." With each passing day, the hastes are dug farther down, so that by now they are armpit deep and flanked by sandbags. This is low-tech war of the most vital kind.

There is bravado everywhere. At the air bases, troops scrawl messages on the bombs: ALL ABOARD: GET OUT SADDAM: SAY CHEESE: HAVE A NICE DAY, with a smiley face, are written on a Maverick AGM-65 air-to-ground missile. When General Colin Powell and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney visited a Stealth fighter squadron, they inscribed a 2,000-lb., laser-guided bomb. TO SADDAM, WITH AFFECTION, wrote Cheney. YOU DIDN'T MOVE IT, SO NOW YOU LOSE IT, Powell wrote.

Every day brings a test of ingenuity. The Army's combat engineers, a cerebral-sounding brigade, are the masters of improvisation. If an offensive starts, their task will be the most perilous of all: to clear the way across the flaming trenches, minefields, 40-ft. berms and killing zones the Iraqis have devised over the past six months. It is handy to know how to hotwire a bulldozer. The 20th Engineer Brigade is under orders to take what is needed along the way and leave a receipt, in Arabic and English. If it is civilian equipment, "we have papers to fill out, to leave with the owner so they could later claim compensation," says Colonel Robert Flowers, commander of the brigade. He has distributed homemade hot-wiring kits for trucks and other vehicles but ordered his troops not to take anything they don't need, for fear of booby traps.

Everyone, meanwhile, learns to scrounge. Supplies have a way of not keeping pace with the soldiers: the technical term for material with no forwarding address is "frustrated cargo." This makes for frustrated soldiers, who must master the

naries to warn against poisonous gases: the desert uses chickens. One air base named its newspaper after its chicken—*Biford Talks*—on the grounds that as long as the bird is squawking, they are safe. When peace comes, the soldiers daydream, they will hold a barbecue.

*You will not fear the terror of the
night, nor the arrow that flies by
day, nor the pestilence that stalks
in darkness, nor the destruction
that wastes at noonday.*

The closer to the front, the more raw the nerves. "When we moved farther north, it helped morale because we broke the routine. The troops joke around a lot more," says a soldier. "We get T rations, which are hot and a lot better than MREs." MREs, or Meals, Ready to Eat, are the soldiers' most accessible enemy. Everyone hates them. Egyptian soldiers refused them. Only ravenous Iraqi prisoners of war wolf them down—including the chewing gum. When the milk runs out, they are pineapple drink to pour on the cornflakes.

Closest to the enemy are the lead scouts of the 82nd Airborne Division,

TIME THE GULF WAR MAP

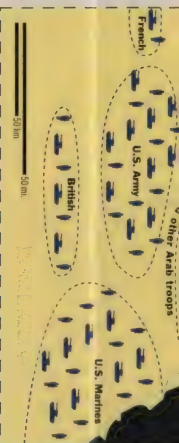
KEY

Airbase
 Naval base and activity
 International airport
 Dislocation
 Oil fields
 Rivers
 Marshes
 Frontiers
 Air bases

TARGETS IN IRAQ AND KUWAIT

Airbase
 Naval base and activity
 International airport
 Dislocation
 Oil fields
 Rivers
 Marshes
 Frontiers
 Air bases





Dec. 9 Baker reports a deadlock on when talks can take place. Iraq proposes that Baker come to Baghdad on Jan. 12, limit the U.S. must be meeting same place no later than Jan. 3.

Dec. 22 Iraq announces it will give up Kuwait and will use chemical weapons if attacked.

Jan. 9, 1991 Baker and Aziz meet in Geneva, but no to an agreement.

Jan. 12 U.S. Congress grants Bush his authority to go to war.

Jan. 15 U.N. deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait.

Jan. 16 U.S. and allied forces launch an attack on Iraq and Kuwait.



United States



At least
\$350,000



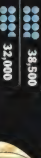
549,000

Saudi Arabia



45,000

Egypt



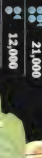
38,500

Britain



32,000

Syria



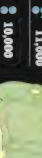
21,000

France



12,000

Pakistan



11,000

Gulf Cooperation Council



10,000

Bangladesh



2,300

Morocco



1,700

Niger



500

Senegal



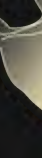
200

Czech

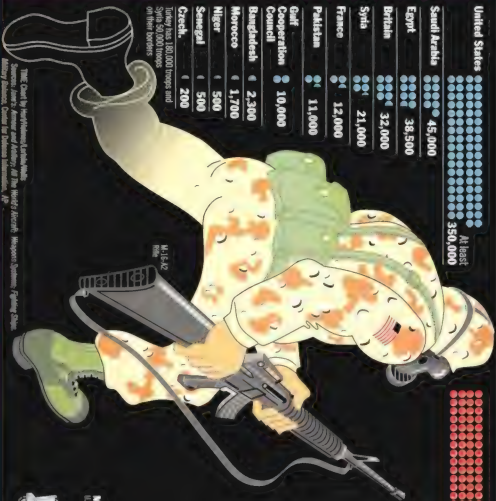


200

Turkey



180,000 troops and
50,000 troops
on their borders



THE CARD BY HENNINGSEN'S BOOKS/WHITE
STAMP, JUNE 7. ARMED AND DANGEROUS: 40 THE WORLD'S GREATEST WEAPON SYSTEMS. FIGHTING STYLE:
Military Balance. Credit to Defense International. AP



AMX-30



Chieftain



V-60



M270 Multiple
Launch Rocket
System
France/US



M113



M901



LAV (Light Armored Vehicle)



LVT7

ALLIED AIRCRAFT

AV-8B Harrier U.S. Britain
figure number 01



F-16 Falcon U.S.
figure number 100



F-14 Tomcat U.S.
figure number 111



F/A-18 Hornet U.S.
figure 112



Tornado
British Commonwealth
figure number 13



EA-6B Prowler U.S.
British Commonwealth 30



F-111 U.S.
figure number 03



F-35E Tiger U.S.
figure number 02



A-7 Corsair II U.S.
figure 20



Mirage 2000 France
figure 10



E-2C Hawkeye U.S.
Commonwealth figure 31



Buccaneer U.S.
figure number 5



E-3 AWAC U.S.
figure 1



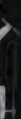
A-4 Skyhawk U.S.
figure number 21



TR-1 U.S.
figure number 6



UH-1 Huey U.S.



AH-1W SuperCobra U.S.



B-52 Stratofortress U.S.
figure 4



ALLIED MISSILES

Surface to Air



Patriot U.S.



HAWK U.S.
(shown with SAM)

Air to Surface



Kormoran Germany



Paveway II U.S.



HARM U.S.



Exocet France



AIM-54 Phoenix



AIM-7F Sparrow



AIM-9 Sidewinder

Air to Air

ALLIED SHIPS

16 Minesweepers



3 Corvettes



29 Fligates



13 Destroyers



3 Missile Cruisers



ALLIED GROUND TROOPS

5,000 troops

IRADI GROUND TROOPS

ALLIED AIRBORNE AND ARTILLERY

Tomahawk Cruise Missile
U.S.

AA-2 Aiolos
U.S.

R-350 France



C-601 Cruise
Missile (U.S. Navy)



Surfaced to Air
Roland Germany/U.S.
SA-9 Caskin U.S.S.R.
SA-3 Goa U.S.S.R.



Antitank
HOT France/Germany
AT-3 Sagger U.S.S.R.
MILAN France/Germany/Italy



2 Battleships



6 Aircraft Carrier Groups



5 Fighters



5 Corvettes



8 Minesweepers



Form

M1A1 Abrams Tank U.S.



T-72 U.S.S.R.



T-62 U.S.S.R.



Body

M50A1 U.S.



Chieftain France



0 U.S.

Challenger U.S.



T-55 U.S.S.R.



T-69 U.S.



M109 U.S.



M110 U.S.



M109 U.S.



M3 Bradley U.S.



GCT France



M109 155-mm U.S.



O-5 155-mm South Africa



BTR-60 U.S.S.R.



5 meters
15 feet



The Gulf War

time-honored military art of swapping what they have for what they need: long underwear, cigarettes, air filters, a forklift. The local Saudi merchants are not much help. Soldiers complain that prices double and triple between visits to the small local shops. A pack of Snickers bars has jumped from \$6 to \$15—the tax, say the shopkeepers, for doing business in the line of fire.

*For he will give his
angels charge of you,
to guard you in all
your ways.*

There is free time in the desert—sometimes much too much of it. Desert Shield Radio, a network of four FM stations, plays news and music round the clock, a welcome replacement for Baghdad Betty, who used to taunt soldiers that their wives back home were being unfaithful. (One cuckold was said to be Bart Simpson.) She has not been heard from since the bombing began. By and large, music tastes are fairly sedate. Since the fighting started, says program director Sergeant Major Bob Nelson, "it's like someone put a pillow on it; we got a lot of requests for soft and sentimental songs. When it heats up, we slow down." Army Private Brian Chavez, 18, of Wagner, Okla., worries about being out of touch. "There will be all new music when we go back," he moans. "There'll be a new way of dancing. We will look like dorks,



Thoughts of home: National Guard Captain JoAnn Conley

Letters punctuate the waiting, but the homesickness can weigh heavily.

like we are dancing the Watusi or something."

The most precious distraction, the source of the most pleasure and some pain, is the mail, typically weighing in at 400 tons. A letter from home is reread until the pages crumble. "I had just opened the letter from my wife when we had a Scud alert," says Sergeant Darrell Thompson, 37, of the XVIII Airborne. "I dropped my mail to run off to the bunker, but I put the photo of my little girl in my pocket, like a good-luck charm."

Letters are prized because they punctu-

ate the waiting. They move time forward, even in painful ways, as fathers and mothers discover, from one letter to the next, that their children are growing up in their absence. Every word from home inflames the desire to get the fighting started, and finished. "It's like an exam," concludes Marine Sergeant H.B. McDuffie, 26, of Tallahassee, Fla. "You can only study so long, and then you're ready to take it. The whole thing is personal with me now. I missed Christmas. I missed New Year's Day, and now Valentine's Day, because of this war."

Among the greatest concerns, news reports notwithstanding, is that the soldiers will suffer the same fate as Vietnam veterans when they come home. Visiting reporters

are constantly asked whether there is support back home. No reassurance is enough. "The politicians, they have nothing to lose because it's not them doing the job. It's us," says Marine Lance Corporal Scott Gruenfeld, 20, of Columbia, Mo. "My main concern is that I don't want to be looked upon as doing something wrong. I don't want to be spit on when I go home."

The psalm ends:

*With long life I will satisfy him, and
show him my salvation.*

—Reported by Lara Markove in the Saudi desert,
with pool reports

Marking time: near the Saudi border with Kuwait, troops from a medical battalion use their downtime for laundry and volleyball

PHOTOGRAPH BY GREGG DEGUARDIA





Field doctors practice working in chemical suits: a gas attack would slow the allies down but would not necessarily cause mass casualties

WEAPONS

Coping with Chemicals

Though frightening, an Iraqi assault with poison gas or biological agents might not be as ghastly as its potential victims imagine

By LISA BEYER



Just one whiff of mustard gas can sear the lining of a soldier's lungs and cause large, painful blisters to form on his face and body. Only a tiny drop of the nerve gas Tabun will make a stricken combatant twitch and convulse; then his lungs will fill with liquid, and his diaphragm will collapse, causing suffocation. A dose of inhaled anthrax spores will bring on hemorrhaging, then shock and very likely death.

Such is the hell of chemical and biological warfare. Like most nightmares, however, an unconventional Iraqi assault on the allied forces might not be quite as ghastly as its potential victims imagine. The last major experience American and European troops had with poison gas was gruesome enough: in World War I, both sides used it, causing 91,000 deaths, many of the victims dying miserably after coughing up mouthfuls of yellow fluid. Since then, chemical weapons have grown more sophisticated, but so have the techniques to combat them. Says Lieut. Colonel Glenn Tripp, a doctor at MedBase America, a medical evacuation center in the Saudi desert: "The chemical threat is overrated."

Allied commanders assume that as soon as the ground war begins, Saddam

Hussein will make good on his threat to gas their troops. "If there's a ground war, it's virtually certain," says Matthew Bunn, editor of *Arms Control Today*. Chemicals have worked for Saddam before. Many experts believe Tehran's reluctant acceptance of a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war was prompted by its 45,000 chemical casualties. But the allies, unlike the Iranians, are well prepared for a dirty fight. While chemical strikes will slow the coalition down, "they will not win the war for Saddam," says a senior British official. "They will not cause mass casualties in the front line, nor a reenactment of the horrors of World War I."

Saddam's chemical wallop has been limited by the bombing campaign, which the allies contend has completely destroyed the country's chemical-weapons plants. Baghdad is thought to have as much as 4,000 tons of toxins stockpiled in Kuwait and Iraq, but that number sounds more impressive than it really is. A high degree of saturation is required if an attack is to be effective: 26 tons of mustard gas, for example, is needed to cover a single square mile for perhaps a few days.

The best way to blanket an area with toxins is by flying overhead and either spraying them crop-duster style or dropping them in bombs. These are the means by which Saddam gassed his own Kurdish minority in 1988. But any plane that Saddam would send up against the allies would

probably get shot down in short order. Thus, the Iraqis are more likely to deliver their noxious poisons using artillery shells, missiles and rockets. It would take a terrific barrage of any of these to soak enemy troops thoroughly, and once the blasting started, allied bombers would furiously attack the culprits. "Once they're out in the open," says an American pilot, "they're dead meat." The Iraqis might also load mines with chemicals, but these would deliver an isolated punch.

By their very nature, chemical weapons are unreliable. They require ideal weather: not too hot, or the stuff will dissipate; not too windy, or the gases will disperse or possibly blow back onto the attacker. Of course, Saddam will seek to maximize the conditions, probably by using poisons late at night or early in the morning, when the temperatures are cooler. Because nerve gases like Sarin and Tabun disperse within minutes or, if enhanced with oil thickeners, within hours, Saddam is expected to lob these agents close to the front lines. He is likely to aim persistent toxins like mustard gas, which linger for days, deeper into allied ranks.

Even when delivered successfully, chemicals may not be as deadly as imagined. In World War I, notes Matthew Meselson, a professor of biology at Harvard, "shell for shell, there were more deaths from conventional munitions." Only about

The Gulf War

5% of the Iranians gassed by the Iraqis died; the figure might have been even lower if all the Iranians had been beardless, thus allowing for a tight fit of their gas masks.

While the Iranians were ill prepared for a chemical attack, the allied forces

are ready. Automated alarm systems deployed along the front will warn of chemical emissions. Any allied advance into Kuwait or Iraq will be accompanied by German-made vehicles called Fuchs. These bizarre-looking rovers, which have chemical probes sprouting from their ar-

mor, will move ahead of the troops, sniffing for trouble.

By now, U.S. soldiers, who carry their chemical gear at all times, are well rehearsed in donning their protective suits quickly. Some soldiers can get their masks on in four seconds. If a soldier gets gassed before he suits up or suffers ill effects despite the garment, which does not offer 100% protection, he can inject himself with antidotes. Combined with prophylactic pills given to troops facing a chemical danger, these can cut the lethality of an exposure by four-fifths.

Saddam's primary objective in a chemical strike would probably be to break up, disorganize and delay charging forces. Troops cannot move fast in those awkward suits without getting overheated. Soldiers would have to pause frequently to sip water, kept in sealed containers, through straws attached to their masks. Communications are also complicated. The masks have a microphone attachment, but the sound is poor. And because it is difficult to tell one suited soldier from another, commanders are not easily recognized.

Nevertheless, allied forces are prepared to "fight dirty" if necessary, that is, to continue an attack even if gassed. This poses logistical problems. Once a vehicle is contaminated, it must be kept away from clean ones, lest it pollute them too. With each round trip, resupply trucks that move from the front and back would have to be thoroughly cleansed, which can take up to 2½ hours. The same goes for vehicles transporting casualties. Gas victims must be isolated from other patients and given a thorough bathing in a hydrochloric acid solution before being tended to by medical personnel.

Biological weapons are a far greater threat than chemical agents. Iraq is thought to have a limited capability to attack with biological agents, which pound for pound are deadlier than any other weapon, except for nuclear bombs. U.S. officials maintain that the masks handed out to the troops will also filter out most airborne germs. Yet there is no easy way to know immediately when such elements are present. All front-line combat troops have been inoculated against anthrax, which is considered Iraq's most likely germ choice, but not against many other potential diseases like tularemia and plague.

To some extent, Saddam doesn't actually have to use these deadly arms to achieve a large part of their power, which is to terrorize his opponents. "Chemical weapons are mind altering," says a Western official in Dhahran, "and they alter the mind before they're used." Just threatening to introduce them frightens troops, and that may subtly erode morale.

—Reported by Frank Melville/London, Dick Thompson/Dhahran and Bruce van Voorst/Washington



A napalm strike during the Vietnam War; among the allies' most powerful weapons

How the Allies Might Retaliate

Although the U.S. has reserved the right to respond to chemical strikes in kind, it is unlikely to do so in the gulf war. Chemicals would achieve no military advantage that cannot be attained through conventional means, and their use by the allies would compromise long-term U.S. efforts to eliminate them from the planet. The U.S. has no chemical arms in its gulf arsenal, nor does it possess any biological weapons, having unilaterally forsworn them in 1969. Should Saddam Hussein fight dirty, however, the U.S. and its allies can retaliate by using other potent weapons against Iraqi troops. Among them:

FUEL-AIR EXPLOSIVES. The deadliest non-nuclear bombs in the allied arsenal, they disperse a highly volatile mist over a large area. When this cloud is ignited in a second explosion, the resulting blast packs nearly the wallop (but, of course, not the radiation) of a small nuclear device. The bombs also suck up oxygen, pulling the lungs and other organs of stricken troops partially out of their bodies. The mist from some fuel-air bombs can penetrate bunkers before detonating. Another advantage is that while the force of a conventional explosion decreases rapidly as one moves away from the center of the blast, the concussion of a fuel-air device is evenly distributed. The U.S. used fuel-air explosives to destroy mines in Kuwait last week and may use them against Saddam's troops to avenge a chemical strike. Some intelligence sources suspect Iraq has fuel-air bombs as well; the technology is not difficult to replicate.

NAPALM. Bombs containing this gooey gel, made from fatty acids mixed with gasoline, produce a hellish inferno when ignited, burning up everything in the target area or splattering it with the searing, sticky jelly. The naked, screaming girl in Nick Ut's famous photo from the Vietnam War was a napalm victim. British officials say that in light of its infamous reputation the allies do not intend to use it against Saddam's troops. But napalm, which is most effective against massed troops out in the open, is among allied weapons stockpiled in the gulf, and U.S. officials do not rule out its use.

GATOR BOMBS. A version of cluster bombs, they explode in midair, scattering small, hard-to-detect mines over a region as large as 90,000 sq. yds. Under normal conditions, a soldier might be able to sidestep these explosives, but in the heat of battle, there is a tendency to leap without looking. The gator bomb thus can create panic among the enemy.



Facing the Iraqi enemy five miles away: an Egyptian soldier in a foxhole on the front

THE ARAB WORLD

All Quiet Under the Pyramids

Unlike many Arabs, most Egyptians detest Saddam Hussein and are not filling the streets with anti-Western protests

By DAVID AIKMAN CAIRO



As rescue workers pulled corpses out of the Baghdad rubble last week, Jordan's King Hussein denounced the allied bombing that caused the deaths and called for an immediate cease-fire. Tunisian President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali declared a "day of mourning in memory of the innocent civilian victims," while Sudan's Foreign Ministry called the episode a "hideous, bloody massacre." Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, however, sounded a different note. "It is inconceivable for a ruler to make propaganda from the corpses of his citizens," he said. "I am very sorry to see civilians dying, but unfortunately, these things happen sometimes in war."

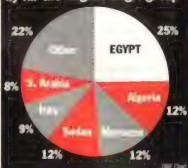
Since Saddam Hussein seized Kuwait last August, much of the Arab world at the grass-roots level has divided into supporters and opponents of Iraq. But by far the most outspoken critic of Saddam has been Hosni Mubarak. The Egyptian President has backed his rhetoric with muscle by contributing 38,500 troops to the allied coalition. What is surprising is that, contrary to some reports, most of Mubarak's 56 million countrymen support his stance on the war and have not fallen sway to Saddam's

attempts to turn the conflict into a battle of Arab vs. West. Ordinary Egyptians show no inclination to mob the streets in support of Iraq as hundreds of thousands of other Arabs have done in cities from Amman to Nouakchott. When a small band of demonstrators assembled in Cairo two weeks ago for a march on the presidential palace, bystanders watched approvingly as police broke up the protest with nightsticks. Observed Jordan's Ambassador Nabih Nimr: "Apparently the majority of Egyptians are either quiet or support Mubarak."

Egyptian resentment of Saddam runs deep. During Iraq's eight-year war with Iran, 1.5 million Egyptians worked in Iraq, sending back to their country an estimated \$1 billion a year. Peace came in 1988, and a triumphant but broke Iraq froze the wages of foreign workers and forbade funds to be sent out of the country. Thousands of Egyptians suddenly began facing job competition from demobilized soldiers. Many were ill-treated by Iraqis, some getting impressed into the Iraqi army, others enduring beatings, robberies and even murder. For several months last year the Egyptian press reported almost daily the number of returning coffins of Egyptians who had died in suspicious circumstances in Iraq.

Egypt's opposition press, which is stri-

Of all Arabs, Egyptians are by far the largest single group



Mubarak: the Arabs' most outspoken critic

dently antigovernment and hostile to Mubarak's role in the coalition, has not chosen to challenge the public disgust with Saddam. Even the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood, while calling the coalition's bombing of civilians a "heinous crime," has described the Iraqi regime as "hateful" and has scorned Saddam's efforts to lead a jihad against the West.

The failure of ordinary Egyptians to demonstrate against the gulf war also stems from a reluctance to be lumped together with other Arabs. Many Egyptians are so proud of their country's more than 5,000 years of history and culture that they are uncomfortable acknowledging any connection with their Arab brethren. Says Hoda el-Sobky, 19, an economics major at the American University in Cairo: "I feel pure Egyptian. We are originally pharaohs. There is no blood relation between us and the Arabs." A surprising number of ordinary Egyptians also seem to feel warmly toward the West. Said Abdul Yazid Tawfik, a taxi driver: "I feel closer to the West than the Arabs. Westerners are straightforward. They want to work with us."

Most Egyptians also feel they paid a disproportionate price on behalf of the Arab cause during the five brutal wars waged with Israel since the Jewish state was founded in 1948. Military and civilian

The Gulf War

losses during these conflicts amounted to more than 20,000. "Arabs are traitors," says Tawfiq. "You cannot feel secure with them. We fought for them, but they did not do anything for us."

In 1979, after Egypt became the first and so far only Arab country to make formal peace with Israel, most of the Arab world broke relations with Cairo. Mubarak, who became President in 1981 after Anwar Sadat was assassinated, has concentrated on establishing a mood of moderation at home while mending ties

with fellow Arabs. Of 21 members in the Arab League, all 18 that broke diplomatic relations with Egypt then have since resumed them. Last week Mubarak further demonstrated his diplomatic skills by playing host first to Libya's mercurial Muammar Gaddafi, whom he has wooed diplomatically for two years, and then to the foreign ministers of six gulf states and Syria. Says Walid Kazzuha, a political scientist at the American University in Cairo: "During the past 10 years Mubarak has wanted to reintroduce Egypt into the

Arab world. I think to some extent he has succeeded."

As leader of the world's most populous Arab country, Mubarak cannot afford to fail. If Iraq is defeated badly, Egypt will emerge as the dominant Arab military power in both the gulf and the Middle East region. How skillfully Mubarak exercises that leadership will help determine whether the region recovers from the crisis triggered by Saddam Hussein or descends into a nightmare of disorder. —With reporting by Amany Radwan/Cairo

Don't Reject a Cease-Fire

Holding out for complete surrender as an alternative to any peace negotiations will guarantee a long, destructive war, fracture the alliance and destabilize the region

By JIMMY CARTER



Saddam Hussein has always had two options: 1) to withdraw from Kuwait and avoid destruction of his forces or 2) not to surrender the invaded territory, let his country absorb allied attacks and fight a defensive ground war. Neither alternative has ever been particularly attractive to the U.S. and its allies, even before the war began. In the first case, Iraq's military power would have been preserved; in the second, allied casualties would be higher.

We now face the choice between a prolonged conflict or a partial survival of Saddam's power. Our overwhelming force will prevail. But what will we do after we have destroyed a good portion of Iraq's military, ravaged Iraq's industrial infrastructure, severed fresh-water supply systems in major cities and driven Iraqi military forces out of Kuwait? Will we pursue the retreating Iraqis mile by mile, ultimately to impose unconditional surrender?

Whether we like it or not, the U.S. is being criticized for the sustained nationwide attacks on Iraq, which Soviet leaders and others claim to be exceeding the U.N. mandate for the ejection of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Also, highly publicized evidence of damage to non-military areas is arousing concern. No matter how limited or inadvertent this damage may be, the vivid pictures of destroyed homes and children's bodies being removed from air-raid shelters are a propaganda victory for Saddam.

Islamic leaders, in Iran and even among our own allies, have been calling for a peace effort, which would have to include a cease-fire. During this period, an unequivocal commitment from Saddam and united pressure from the alliance, including the Soviet Union, would be necessary to assure Iraq's total withdrawal from Kuwait.

We should not reject the option of a cease-fire. To foreclose this possibility and demand complete surrender as an al-

ternative to any peace negotiations, even after Saddam's expressed willingness to withdraw from Kuwait is confirmed, is to ensure a long and destructive war, a fragmentation of the alliance and the likelihood of a destabilized Middle East. Complete destruction of Iraq's army will leave the country defenseless against Iran and Syria. If we insist also that Saddam face trial as a war criminal, then he is not likely to yield except as an act of finality and hopelessness, regardless of the devastation suffered by his country.

It is true that a cease-fire could permit some repairs and possible adjustments of Iraqi forces. These benefits could be minimized by the terms of the allied announcement of a truce, which might preclude the rebuilding of bridges or the redeployment of armored units. Pinpoint attacks by our smart bombs could stop these actions even during the respite period.

After more than 73,000 sorties against Iraq and its military sites, with minimal losses by the U.S. and its allies, Saddam and his top officials must now be convinced that the allies can continue this one-sided devastation indefinitely. There is little doubt



Burned-out Iraqi tanks in the Saudi desert

that Iraq's anticipation of victory over the allied forces has dissipated.

If the Iraqis make a legitimate offer to withdraw from Kuwait, a cease-fire and negotiations—with our support but under Arab or other international auspices—would let Iraqi leaders and private citizens put additional pressure on Saddam to comply with the more limited Security Council demands. The achievement of immediate American goals cannot be guaranteed by such a pause in the war. Even rejection of the peace effort by the Iraqis, however, will put the onus of the continuing conflict on their leaders, giving the allied forces a significant propaganda victory. It will also help clarify our ultimate objectives, to ourselves and to the world. Involving others in negotiations will make it easier for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from the region once the conflict is resolved. ■

The Presidency

Hugh Sidey

Waiting for the Bugle Call



All week long George Bush and his council of war pondered the bizarre convulsions of the mind of Saddam Hussein and confessed bafflement. There was the cream of the Iraqi air force parked in Iran, perhaps from the desperate idea held by Saddam that he would someday rise to fight again. There were the thousands of tanks buried in the sands of Kuwait, gaining some momentary protection from bombing but sacrificing mobility. "They are pillboxes, not tanks," said one of Bush's advisers.

Then came the tragic bombing of Iraqi civilians, an event the White House still believes was a grisly ploy for world sympathy. The broadcast cease-fire plan, freighted with heretofore rejected conditions, was branded a "cruel hoax" by Bush. In the quiet of Kennebunkport, Me., for a long weekend, an angry Bush signaled all those around him and scores of others at the end of his phone lines that the war goes on.

The President carries war's grim box score around in his head. So when he sat down to hear the report from the gulf by his two top military advisers, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney and General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he wanted more than statistics to guide him into the storm that is coming on the ground.

"I know the numbers, sorties flown, bombs dropped," he said to the advisers assembled on the flowered-damask sofas in the Yellow Oval Room on the second floor of the White House. Maps and charts were on easels around the men. Bush hardly looked. "What does Norman [gulf Commander Schwarzkopf] think about the enemy? How strong are they?"

The precise answers the President got in that meeting were dropped down this Administration's efficient black hole of secrecy. But Bush, striding back to the Oval Office downstairs, paused in the winter Rose Garden and let the world know about his unshakable confidence in his commanders and the progress of the battle. "I am very pleased with the people that are running the war... I feel much better after this briefing... I have total confidence we are on the right path." And there was little change 10 to 12 hours later, when Iraqi civilian casualties became an issue. Bush urged caution on his men, a U.S. effort to counter Iraqi propaganda but not slacken the use of American force against military targets.

The countdown runs on in the fearful journey toward

ground combat. It could be weeks, or hours, away. Some experts on the Middle East told Bush a few days ago that Saddam could be plotting one huge military surge designed to try to kill 30,000 or more coalition soldiers. If successful, they said, Saddam might then declare victory and pull out of Kuwait.

Arrayed against that argument is the steady testimony from military analysts that U.S. superiority in equipment and troops will manifest itself on the ground as it did in the air. His battle advisers have told Bush they do not believe Saddam has any

fighting units left that can inflict huge losses on allied forces, or enough biological, chemical or conventional weapons. Perhaps propaganda is all that is left in the Iraqi arsenal.

Bush has created his own pantheon of military heroes, relishing the performances in the war and on television of men like Schwarzkopf, Marine Lieut. General Walter Boomer and Air Force Chief of Staff Merrill McPeak. So far, those commanders have been able to do just what they promised, Bush has said admiringly in his planning sessions. Yet, says one of the President's close counselors, "the President is afraid to let himself believe these assessments."

Domestic pollsters have reported to Bush that a rise in U.S. casualties could quickly erode public support for the war. Bush is also worried about a possible softening of resolve among Arab allies and about how long Israel will wait before striking back from the Suez attacks. Putting the pieces together in this jagged and frenzied puzzle is one of the toughest challenges any modern President has faced.

In fact, Bush made the decision to fight on the ground back in November when he doubled the desert forces, surprising even some of his generals. He wanted "an offensive option" and understood that, barring some miraculous collapse or an Iraqi withdrawal, such an option would necessarily involve ground assaults. When the ground war is joined, Bush's generals have told him, it must be with full power and fury to assure victory. That will mean mounting casualties, which might diminish his political base. The military men insist that at such a point casualties must be ignored. Bush is fundamentally a political animal, and he knows that in the long run he must have the nation behind him. Timing has become almost everything. Swift, decisive action is imperative. Not since World War II has the world waited and watched for such a grimly glorious bugle call.



Bush wanted more than statistics from his top military advisers



STUP CORSON—BPA

THE PRESS

Just Whose Side Are They On?

As journalists clamor for more news, many Americans accuse them of being too pushy and too accepting of Iraq's side of the story

By RICHARD ZOGLIN



The colonel running the military briefing cautioned at the outset that he would not be able to answer questions involving sensitive information. But the first questioner paid little heed: "What date are we going to start the ground attack?" Sorry, the officer replied, can't comment. "Where would you say our forces are most vulnerable to attack, and how could the Iraqis best exploit those weaknesses?" was the next query. Another no-no: Still the reporters kept blundering on. "Are we planning an amphibious invasion of Kuwait," asked one, "and if so, where exactly would that be?"

No, the American press corps is not really that dumb. But the sketch on NBC's *Saturday Night Live* struck a responsive

chord. In the realm of ridicule, it was a telling symbol: TV's hip, anti-Establishment comedy series chose for its satirical target, instead of a stiff-backed military leader or a bumbling president, the not-so-gentle men and women of the press.

Seldom have the press and public been so starkly at odds about journalism's role. While reporters and editors gripe about press restrictions, pool coverage and a lack of information about the war, many Americans have just the opposite complaint. Far from giving us too little information, they are saying, the press is trying to give us too much. Reporters seem too pushy in press briefings, too insensitive to the need for secrecy, too intent on looking for bad news. Why, goes the common cry, is the press trying to undermine the war effort? What are they first—journalists or Americans?

The lightning rod for most of these complaints has been CNN's Peter Arnett.

Since the all-news network was allowed to remain in Baghdad after most journalists were evicted, Arnett has been broadcasting a stream of reports under Iraqi supervision, mostly showing damage caused by allied bombing. Though CNN carefully labels these reports Iraqi-cleared, they have drawn fire for giving Saddam a conduit for his portrayal of the war. Senator Alan Simpson has impugned Arnett's patriotism; talk-show callers have heaped invective on the reporter. If Arnett were awarded "the Iraq Medal of Honor by Saddam Hussein," suggested one letter writer in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, "I for one feel he would deserve it."

A fresh outcry rose up last week after the allied bombing of a Baghdad building in which several hundred Iraqis died. The outrage was not, for the most part, against the allied bombing strategy but against TV networks for showing the grisly footage un-



Arnett shows viewers a damaged bridge in Baghdad; protesters assail CNN's coverage at its headquarters in Atlanta

critically and thus once again serving Saddam's propaganda needs. "Ninety percent of the people calling my show were saying, 'Hey, this was a military target,'" says Jerry Williams, a talk host for Boston's WRKO radio. "We had four full hours of negative reaction to the press."

Media bashing has been on the upsurge since the start of the war. Don Wade, who hosts a talk show on Chicago's WLS radio, notes that journalists went from heroes to villains in a matter of days. "Here they were, crouching under the table during the first air raid," he says. "But after a few days people started to ask, 'Why are they being so antagonistic to our guys? Why are they so suspicious?'" CNN, whose special privileges in Baghdad have inspired charges that the all-news network is getting too cozy with the enemy, is suffering a mighty backlash. More than 55,000 letters, phone calls and faxes have poured into CNN's Atlanta headquarters since the start of the war, about 60% of them negative. Letters to the Los Angeles *Times* have been overwhelmingly critical of the press. "They hate us," says Thomas Plate, who runs the *Times*' editorial page. "They wish we would go away."

The press is catching flak from all sides. While many Americans charge that the media coverage has been too critical, a

small but vocal minority argue that the press has passively accepted the Pentagon line and has given short shrift to views opposing the war. A caller on CBS's *America Tonight* contended that antiwar views are being censored by the media. "If you listen to the radio shows, you'll find people being cut off on a regular basis," he said.

Is this anything more than the usual partisan carping at the press? The attacks from both sides probably mean that the press is situated just about where it usually is: in the evenhanded middle ground. In a *Times Mirror* survey conducted at the end of January, nearly 80% of the adults in the poll rated press coverage of the war as good or excellent. But the survey also found little support for the media's aggressive tactics. Fully 78% said they were satisfied that the military is not hiding bad news, and 57% said the Pentagon should exert more control over reporting of the war. In a *TIME/CNN* poll conducted last month, 79% of the adults surveyed said they were getting enough information about the war, and 88% supported some censorship of the press under the circumstances.

Some media observers see the current press bashing as the culmination of long-simmering public discontent. In Vietnam, people were ready to take the truth—that

the war effort was failing—but they didn't take it happily," says Michael Janeway, dean of Northwestern's Medill School of Journalism. "The press lived through a kind of subterranean punishment for bringing that news. Now the tension is reasserting itself." Argued conservative critic Dorothy Rabinowitz last week in a *Wall Street Journal* article: "The bill, it seems, has come in for the past 20 years," during which time, she claims, the press has gone overboard in post-Watergate prosecutorial zeal.

It is not surprising that resentment toward the press has surfaced during a war that enjoys widespread popular support. The public wants to believe things are going well. Any report that tends to contradict optimistic U.S. pronouncements, or support Iraqi claims, casts the press in the role of unwanted messenger. The public is well aware, moreover, of the crucial role that favorable or unfavorable press coverage can have in the propaganda battle that is shaping the course of the war.

During wartime, some people seem to think reporters should put their journalistic duties behind an obligation to support their country, to get "on the team." That is a dubious suggestion at best. No responsible journalist would quarrel with the proposition that certain information—sensitive intelligence data, secret battle plans—cannot be published or broadcast without posing a grave risk to American troops. Yet within those security limitations, the press's job is to find out what is actually going on (not just what officials say is going on), no matter whose cause it might or might not advance. "There's an irreconcilable conflict," says Marvin Kalb, director of Harvard's Barone Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy. "The press has not only a right but a responsibility to press for as much information as possible. And it is the government's responsibility to give only that information it feels will not be injurious to American troops on the line."

What is unique about the gulf war is that this conflict is being played out in live press briefings airing daily on CNN and C-SPAN and occasionally on the broadcast networks. Usually, the public gets only the end result of this process: digested reports on the evening news or in the morning newspaper. Now they are watching reporters in the messy business of doing their job: asking difficult, often contentious, sometimes impolite questions. "We look like bullies," acknowledges Richard Salant, former president of CBS News. Notes Stephen Hess, who studies the media for the Brookings Institution: "It's like showing just the raw data in an experiment, or one's notes. People don't understand that briefings are a negotiation process. Some-

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The Gulf War

times reporters play devil's advocate to try to get as much information as possible."

The backlash against the press can also be traced to the sheer volume of media coverage. With hundreds of reporters on the story and hours of air time to fill, much of the press's attention has been focused on its own problems in getting the story. Complaints about the military's press restrictions and other roadblocks have been fodder for countless articles and TV discussions. Whatever the validity of those

complaints, the arguments over the rules of coverage may portray the press as a band of arrogant, self-involved whiners.

Yet a bit of righteousness comes with the territory. Journalists are not duty bound to coddle people with the information they want to hear, but to provide them with the information they should hear. "If people don't like it, I'm sorry," snapped Sam Donaldson on ABC's *PrimeTime Live*, "but they really need to know what's happening." Comments David Halberstam,

who won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting from Vietnam: "It isn't a popularity contest for us, and we shouldn't seek it to be one. The people of this country wouldn't like it very much afterwards if it turns out that [the war] doesn't go well. Then they'll say, 'Well, where was the press?'" For now, however, journalists must face the fact that a lot of people are more concerned with telling the press where to go.

—Reported by Joseph J. Kane/Atlanta, Gavin Scott/Chicago and William Tynan/New York

It's a Grand Old (Politically Correct) Flag

The last strains of *The Star-Spangled Banner* had faded from the court at Madison Square Garden, when Seton Hall University's Marco Lokar, an Italian citizen, came onto the floor to play ball in this land of the free. Each time Lokar touched the ball in the Feb. 2 game against St. John's University, the crowd booed and jeered the sophomore, the only player not wearing an American flag on his uniform. That night turned out to be the last time the flagless Lokar would wear his school's jersey. Last Wednesday he quit the team and dropped out of school. "I have received many threats, directed both toward me and my wife Lara, so that our life has become very difficult here," he explained. "We have decided to return to our hometown, Trieste."

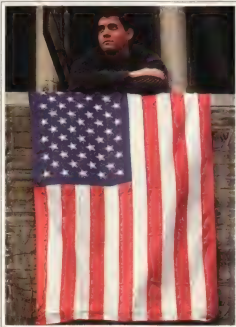
Lokar's story is one of the more poignant examples of the harm that forced patriotism can inflict. As public backing for the war grows to near 80%, intolerance of failure to support the war in a politically correct way is on the rise. There have been acts of violence against antiwar protesters, though freedom of expression is one of America's most cherished principles. In Maplewood, Mo., a suburb of St. Louis, Timothy Dunn went out to pick up his morning newspaper and found that his antiwar sign had been torched by a primitive incendiary device. Prowar demonstrators in another Missouri town attacked a car draped with a peace sign. They shoved flagpoles through the windows and shouted, "Commie faggots!" at the two men inside. At the Defense Language Institute at Fort Ord in California, a Russian instructor's car was towed off the parking lot after the decorated Vietnam War veteran refused to remove *PEACE IS PATRIOTIC* and *SAY NO TO WAR* signs from the window of his van. The military said they were simply carrying out regulations requiring a permit for such displays.

When prowar sentiment is being expressed, however, rules that limit expression of a political idea have a way of being waived, modified or ignored. Authorities at Cornell University decided not to discipline students flying flags from their

dormitory windows, despite residential contracts that for safety and maintenance reasons prohibit hanging anything from the window. The University of South Carolina officially frowns on students' leaning out of their windows and using Super Glue to affix flags and banners to their buildings. But officials tolerated the practice at one patriotic freshman dorm, where displays inside the window would not have been visible. After protests, the University of Maryland withdrew its objection to students' flying flags.

Any additions, subtractions or alterations to official uniforms usually invite disciplinary action, except, apparently, in wartime. Late last month, the New York City police department overruled itself and decided that flag patches larger than a lapel pin but no bigger than 1.5 in. by 2 in. would not violate its strict standards. A Worcester, Mass., court officer fought for and won the right to wear a yellow ribbon below the breast badge on his uniform, unless a particular judge decides it might disrupt his courtroom. When a gate attendant at Miami's Opa-Locka Airport was told to remove her yellow ribbon, she refused, saying, "If they want my ribbon and my flag, they'll have to take my shirt with it." The county manager quickly clarified the policy against political paraphernalia. Said he: "I believe the display of yellow ribbons should not be viewed as a political statement but rather as a symbol that we remember the men and women serving in the Persian Gulf." Even at Disneyland, the strict dress code has been modified to allow those among its 32,000 employees who do not deal directly with the public to wear yellow ribbons.

Would a black armband be exempted from official regulations as readily as a yellow ribbon or a flag? So popular is the war effort that the question has not come up yet—and Marco Lokar did not stay around long enough to raise it. But as people like Lokar and Dunn are finding out, the fewer dissenters there are, the more they need protection.



Defying the rules at Cornell University

● YUGOSLAVIA

Breaking Up Is Hard

But rising nationalism makes it seem increasingly inevitable, and the only real question is whether violence can be avoided

By JESSE BIRNBAUM

It was a measure of the degree of tension, not to say the depths of paranoia bedeviling the country. When they arrived at the federal parliament in Belgrade last week, two Croatian Deputies and their bodyguards were obliged to check their handguns at the door. The gun totes all went home later in one piece, but that was more than could be said for the state of the nation. As of last week, leaders of Yugoslavia's six contentious republics had held four fruitless rounds of talks in an effort to resolve a fateful drive toward secession, and the roiling crisis is tearing the country apart. The only question is whether the process of dismemberment can be achieved without civil war, and if so, how—if at all—the republics can survive as separate entities.

The threads that have stitched together an unwieldy federation of rivalrous ethnic groups since World War II have been unraveling for years. Since 1981, the 1.7 million Albanians in the Serbian-controlled province of Kosovo have been agitating for separate status. Last spring and summer the relatively prosperous northern republics of Slovenia and Croatia voted in free elections to install noncommunist, Western-oriented governments, while Serbia, the largest republic, chose to retain its communist government—later renamed socialist—under hard-line President Slobodan Milosevic. Those divisive events were followed by a landslide referendum in which 88% of Slovenia's 2.1 million citizens voted for independence from Bel-



For the union: in Belgrade 5,000 protesters demonstrate against separation

grade. Since then, the federal tax and monetary systems have all but broken down, and Slovenia stands ready to print its own currency.

Similar secessionist fever in Croatia, meanwhile, nearly erupted in war when Belgrade accused Croatian defense minister Martin Spigelj of fomenting an armed insurrection. Federal troops were called in, and a tense standoff was resolved only when Croatia agreed to demobilize—but not disarm—its police reservists. Unrepentant, Slaven Letica, an aide to Croatian president Franjo Tudjman, declared, "If it comes to civil war, Croatia is willing to fight and confident that it will prevail."

regions not only of Croatia but of adjacent Bosnia and Herzegovina as well.

Such a move would also be an invitation to civil strife, as even Serbian nationalist politician Vuk Draskovic concedes. "Many parts of Bosnia and Croatia are like a leopard's skin," he says. "There is no magic solution that could peacefully redraw the borders." A greater Serbia, adds Croatian economics professor Zvonimir Baletic, "would include more than 2 million Croats, 2 million Muslims and 2 million Albanians. That's simply not a solution."

A secessionist Croatia might not be the solution either. But the Croats, along with the Slovenes, are determined to free them-

What is certain to prevail is the intractable conflict that has riven Yugoslavia's two major nationalities since the country was established. The Serbs, who threw off Turkish rule in the 19th century, are Christian Orthodox; the Croats, who were subjugated by the Habsburg Empire, are Catholics. Their mutual hatred and distrust keep growing more virulent as nationalist ambitions seethe throughout Eastern Europe. Only the suzerainty of socialism imposed by Josip Broz Tito after World War II managed for a time to keep the rivalry in check.

Now that is crumbling. What else can hold the union together? And if Croatia (pop. 4.6 million) should secede, what would become of its 600,000 Serbian minority? "All Serbs," says Milosevic, "must have the right to live in one state." This implies that he would lay claim to a "greater Serbia" by annexing the Serbian



For independence: street vendor hawks new Croatian flags in Zagreb

selves from the central government's yoke. They complain that Belgrade's policies have become more and more blatantly an instrument for Serbian hegemony. During the last quarter of 1990, they say, the National Bank of Serbia secretly handed out \$1.8 billion in loans to the Serbian government, which it spent to keep failing local enterprises—and itself—afloat. They also charge that the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which coordinates monetary policy among the six republics, ignored the transgression, which only served to increase Yugoslavia's grotesque 600% inflation rate.

It happens that the country's inflation and high foreign-exchange rate for the di-

nar do more harm to the foreign trade-oriented regions of Slovenia and Croatia than to the command economy of Serbia. Though Slovenia, for example, accounts for only 9% of Yugoslavia's population, it produces more than 30% of its exports to the West; now, because of the overvalued dinar, Slovenia's prices are too high.

Equally distressing, Serbia has imposed confiscatory taxes on the local operations of Slovenian and Croatian businesses. In turn, Slovenia and Croatia have stopped paying the sales tax they collect to federal authorities. "Right now all we pay to Belgrade is customs duties," says Jozef Menčinger, Slovenia's deputy prime minister

for economic matters. "And we pay that because we recognize that an army that gets paid is less dangerous than one that doesn't. To some extent we're destroying the Yugoslav legal system, just like everyone else. But we see no alternative."

Now, having voted overwhelmingly for independence, the Slovenes, like the Croats, are pushing toward complete separation—and, some say, possible disaster. This week the Slovenian parliament will begin introducing amendments to excise all mention of Yugoslavia from its constitution. Says Jozef Pucnik, president of the Slovenian Social Democratic Party: "By the end of June at the latest, Slovenia will be a sovereign country." If so, the republic will only confront new problems, including a doubling of its unemployment rolls from the current 6.1% in a work force of 1 million and a drop in personal income of more than 30%.

The Croats won't have an easy time of secession either, though they persist in planning for a prosperous future. "From an economic point of view," says Croatia's Leticia, "it is easy to envisage a sovereign territory. There are seven states in Europe smaller than an independent Croatia would be." One strong suit: Croatia earns 90% of Yugoslavia's tourism income, primarily in its summer resorts along the Adriatic coast.

Neither the Croats nor the Slovenes seem concerned about how Yugoslavia would pay its foreign debt in the event of a breakup. Of the \$16.7 billion total, Croatia owes \$3 billion, Slovenia \$1.8 billion, and each is responsible for some portion of the \$3.6 billion on the books as federal debt. Says Ante Cicin-Sain, governor of the National Bank of Croatia: "Paying it back shouldn't be a big problem as long as we don't destroy our debt-servicing capacity."

Such destruction, of course, is what would happen if civil war broke out—a real possibility if Serbia remains determined to hold the federation together at any cost. But, says Peter Stanovik, director of Ljubljana's Institute for Economic Research, "politicians in every republic know that Europe is watching. War would immediately dry up the credit and foreign capital we so desperately need."

That alone is reason enough to keep Yugoslavia from violent disintegration. Perhaps the best that Belgrade can hope for is a compromise that would lessen its control over all of Yugoslavia's republics and replace the current system with some loose confederation of independent states. That might placate some secessionists, but probably not all of them. Compromise will be on the agenda once again late this week, when the contending parties are scheduled to meet in Sarajevo. It will not be less on any of them that it was in Sarajevo in 1914 that World War I began with the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. —*Reported by James P. Fish/ Belgrade and James L. Graff/Ljubljana*

Courting Trouble

Amid a tangle of politics, fear and intrigue, the prosecution finds it isn't so easy to bring Winnie Mandela to trial

First, four of the co-defendants jumped bail and disappeared. Then a key prosecution witness mysteriously vanished. Last week the two remaining witnesses to the crime refused to testify. Faced with the sudden flight of evidence, Rand Supreme Court Judge Michael Stegmann abruptly postponed until next month the start of South Africa's most explosive trial in recent years, to give the flustered prosecution time to repair its case.

The trial of Winnie Mandela was never destined to be a simple affair. It was surrounded by demonstrations and set in the context of delicate constitutional negotiations between the African National Congress and the government of President F.W. de Klerk. But last week the kidnapping-and-assault case against the wife of A.N.C. leader Nelson Mandela, for which she could face a death sentence, blossomed into a bizarre tale of fear and intrigue.

The tempestuous "Mother of the Nation" stands accused, along with several of her bodyguards, of kidnapping and savage-



No simple affair: undaunted, the Mandelas salute supporters

ly beating four young black men in her Soweto home on Dec. 29, 1988, because of their alleged sexual encounters with a white minister. Mrs. Mandela claims that the youths were taken to her home when she was away to protect them from the clergyman, who has since been cleared of wrongdoing by his church. She says she took no part in any assault. One of the victims, James "Stompie" Moeketsi, 14, was later found murdered in a field.

The packed Johannesburg courtroom erupted in surprise at the start of the trial when prosecutor Jan Swanepoel told Judge Stegmann that a key prosecution witness who was one of the victims, Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, had been mysteriously "kidnapped" the night before the proceedings.

Subsequently, two other victims who were expected to testify against Mandela, Barend Thabo Mono and Kenneth Kgase, refused to speak when they took the stand. Said a terrified Kgase: "I feel strongly about the obligation to give evidence, but it's my life."

Reports immediately surfaced that Mekgwe had been seen being escorted away by three A.N.C. operatives. The South African Press Association said it received a phone call from a man in neighboring Zimbabwe who claimed to be Mekgwe and refused to "testify against my comrades." Many South Africans believe the three victim-witnesses have been intimidated by the A.N.C., which has repeatedly blasted the prosecution as nothing more than "harassment and persecution" of comrades Winnie and Nelson.

Prosecutors now have to decide how diligently to pursue the matter. To let the case fold would place the judicial system on trial, but pushing it too hard could complicate the country's tentative moves toward national reconciliation. —By **Alain L. Sanders**.

Reported by Peter Hawthorne/Cape Town

CHINA

The Merit of Obedience

After a perfunctory trial, dissidents get stiff sentences

Even before the trial began, the atmosphere in courtroom No. 01 of the Beijing Intermediate People's Court was foreboding. Black curtains were drawn across the windows, and most seats were filled with men in uniforms. Only two women in the third row, clearly apprehensive, looked out of place.

At 8:30 a.m. the lights suddenly brightened, and Chen Ziming, 38, one of China's leading dissidents, was led in. Stepping into the dock, he looked up at the gallery—and into the eyes of his mother and his sister. It had been more than a year since they had seen him. For the next five hours, prosecutors harangued Chen as a counter-revolutionary who had financed the 1989 student rebellion in Tiananmen Square. Despite his 40-min. rebuttal, the trial moved inexorably to its verdict: guilty, with a sentence of 13 years in prison.

For the preceding four weeks, Chinese courts had been churning through 29 similar trials with remarkable, if cruel, efficiency. Also sentenced to 13 years was Chen's colleague Wang Juntao, 32, an editor at

the Beijing Social and Economic Research Institute, a private think tank headed by Chen. But those among the defendants who showed signs of repentance were treated "leniently" and given lighter sentences. Student leader Wang Dan, the most wanted student after the Tiananmen massacre, drew only four years because he recanted and "exposed others"—among them Chen Ziming, as prosecutors claimed at last week's trial.

U.S. officials expressed dismay at the sentences for Chen and Wang, which were the longest meted out. Senior officials had been working on the cases since last November. Said State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler: "The speed of the verdicts, the

limited opportunity afforded the defendants to prepare a defense and the inability of independent observers to attend the trials inevitably raises questions of justice, fairness and due process."



Chen Ziming: convicted of sedition as a counter-revolutionary and sentenced to 13 years

BEIJING'S MERCY

Wang Juntao, editor
guilty of rebellion: **13 yrs.**
Liu Gang, researcher
leniency for admitting guilt: **6 yrs.**
Wang Dan, student
leniency for exposing others: **4 yrs.**
Chen Xiaoping, lawyer
promised to reform: **released**

Chen and his family had little chance against the court. Despite his weakened condition from an attempt to delay the trial with a hunger strike, Chen was forced to stand throughout.

But Chen's family and friends refuse to give up hope. They contend that improving domestic conditions and international pressure may yet help him. Says his sister: "We believe he is not guilty. We believe that history and people in the end will understand him and recognize this fact."

In the meantime, the democratic ideals for which Chen sacrificed his freedom seem more remote than ever.

—By **Guy Garcia**.
Reported by **Jaime A. FlorCruz** and **Mia Turner/Beijing**

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World Notes

JAPAN

Flirting with a Meltdown

The No. 2 reactor at Kansai Electric Power Co.'s Mihama nuclear power plant, located 220 miles west of Tokyo, was operating at full capacity when an alarm sounded. Radiation levels in one steam generator soared to 1,250 times the normal level, triggering the emergency cooling system. Within seconds, tons of cold water began pouring in, averting a meltdown of the reactor core. But company officials acknowledged that malfunctioning safety valves had allowed a "small amount" of radiation to escape.

Containing the political fallout from Japan's worst nuclear accident may prove more difficult. The mishap at the 19-year-old facility underscored growing fears around the globe about the mechanical wear and tear that occurs inside nuclear plants as they age. Such concerns could hobble the government in its drive to double the number of nuclear reactors to 80 during the next 20 years, in order to reduce Japan's dependence on imported fossil fuels.



Mihama: a reactor goes awry

KENYA

A Private Quest For Justice

It took more than two years of private investigation and \$396,000 of his personal fortune. But last week when two rangers from Masai Mara National Park were charged with the murder of his daughter Ju-



The horror of an unexpected epidemic: a stricken child

PERU

Life in the Time Of Cholera

Already afflicted by economic ills and a festering guerrilla insurgency, Peru is now plagued by an epidemic of cholera sweeping along its Pacific coast. As of last week, the disease had claimed 90 lives and infected at least 14,000 people. It is the first major outbreak of cholera in the western hemisphere since early in this century.

Local authorities have moved quickly to stem the epidemic, which is spread by poor hygiene and contaminated water, raw food and fish. Street-

side food vending in Lima has been banned, and a national media campaign is under way to encourage sanitary habits. In an effort to prevent the disease from spreading to their neighboring countries, health officials in Ecuador, Bolivia and Chile have prohibited the importation of uncooked Peruvian food products. Soccer matches in Lima between Peruvian teams and squads from Argentina and Uruguay have also been canceled. While the exact source of the outbreak remains unclear, tests of coastal waters have shown a high degree of contamination. Some reports speculate that the cholera arrived on a ship from Southeast Asia.

LIBERIA

Not Quite a Breakthrough

For a moment, the stalemated civil war that has bled West Africa's most desperate country for 14 months seemed to be near a conclusion at last. No sooner had the peace talks in nearby Togo adjourned, however, than Liberia's chief rivals for power began disputing the settlement's terms. Charles

Taylor, the guerrilla leader whose army controls the countryside, objected to a provision disqualifying him, as well as opposing commanders, from heading a transitional regime in Monrovia. "I expect to head the interim government," he announced. Prince Yeduo Johnson, whose force killed President Samuel Doe in September, denounced the statement: "Charles Taylor is not going to tell the Liberian people what he wants to be."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Divorce, Czech-Style

A smiling face, symbol of Czechoslovakia's Civic Forum, may be turning to a frown. Beset by internal wrangling over policy in the newly emancipated nation, the popular alliance that swept the communists out of power 15 months ago and installed dissident playwright Vaclav Havel as President is splitting into two factions, already represented in Parliament: the conservative Club of the Democratic Right (CDR) and the Liberal Club.

The move was initiated by Finance Minister and C.D.R. mentor Vaclav Klaus, who is overseeing the transition from a state-run economy to the free market. In October the outspoken Klaus won an upset victory as Forum chairman over Havel's chosen candidate.



Splitting up: Civic Forum's logo

Many members of the loosely aligned Liberal Club are longtime associates of Havel's and opposed Klaus in that vote. "We have decided on a divorce, Czech-style," Klaus said. "between a majority that elected me [chairman] and a minority view."

lie, John Ward made a major breakthrough in his quest for justice. The disappearance of the 28-year-old woman in the game park in September 1988 became a cause célèbre in the British press. After her mutilated and burned remains were found by Ward, who was accompanied by park rangers, Kenyan authorities said she had been eaten by wild ani-

mals. But Ward, the owner of a hotel chain, refused to accept the official verdict and uncovered evidence that his daughter had been hacked to death. He then went on to conduct his own probe to find the killers.

Accused are Jonah Tajew Magiroi, 28, and Peter Mutui Kipeen, 26, who police now believe took Julie Ward into

their rangers' camp after her Suzuki four-wheel-drive vehicle broke down in the park. Investigators think that radio trouble kept the men from calling for assistance and that she stayed with them for about a week on friendly terms before an altercation led to her murder. John Ward is expected to be a witness at the trial.

Business

Mr. Sam Stuns Goliath

After a century as the giant of U.S. retailing, Sears loses the top spot to folksy, hard-charging Wal-Mart

By JANICE CASTRO

With its Regency furniture, rich wood paneling and commanding view of Chicago's skyline, the executive floor of the 110-story Sears Tower is a monument to the company's glorious century as America's favorite store. Now those days are gone. When Sears' 13 directors gathered last week in the spacious, peach-carpeted 68th-floor boardroom, the reports

they faced were overwhelmingly bad. A mammoth increase in advertising had scarcely budged sales. Profits were way down. The Christmas selling season was the worst in 15 years. One piece of news especially seemed to mock the setting's regal grandeur. Sears, officially, is no longer America's largest retailer. The new king: Wal-Mart, a onetime backwoods bargain barn that, according to late figures, has pulled past Sears in North American sales. K mart, advancing steadily but less spectacularly, edged up just behind Sears, leaving the former leader an uncertain No. 2.

While worried Sears directors were seeking solutions in Chicago, Wal-Mart founder Sam Walton, 72, was working in his spartan little office at headquarters in Bentonville, Ark. (pop. 11,000). Starting at 7 every morning, well-scrubbed, energetic employees scurry through the drab two-story building whose Formica desks and battleship-gray walls belie the company's immense profitability. Before long, a crowd of would-be suppliers begins forming at the front door: vendors carrying trunks and cases of products, hoping to interest Wal-Mart buyers in their toothpaste, panty hose, toasters and hundreds of other products. Wal-Mart buyers are notoriously tough bargainers, so sales representatives prepare their pitches carefully. Wal-Mart has plenty of room to grow—shoppers in 15 states, mostly in the Northeast, have yet to see one store. The chain got started in 1962 much the way Sears did decades earlier, by targeting far-flung small towns and underserved rural areas. Stocking everything from cos-



Sears' Brennan: fighting to stop the slide

metics and record albums to shirts and lawn furniture, Wal-Mart developed a loyal core of customers devoted to fast, friendly service and consistently low prices.

Wal-Mart advanced on one market after another, building regional clusters of stores no farther than a day's drive from huge warehouse hubs. While other large retailers were allowing service to deteriorate, Wal-Mart stores were stationing a friendly greeter at the front door to welcome customers. The headquarters' down-home feel is real enough, but don't look for rollout desks and clipboards. Walton—Mr. Sam to his 350,000 employees—invested in a state-of-the-art corporate satellite system that has enabled the company to perfect round-the-clock inventory control so that the products customers want are nearly always in stock. In Bentonville a computer center the size of a football field controls the widespread operations, tracking inventory, credit and sales via a Hughes satellite.

Wal-Mart's relentless efforts have yielded remarkably rapid growth. Just 10 years ago, company sales of \$2.4 billion were less than 12% of Sears'. But in the past three years, while Sears' North American retail sales (including those from 131 Canadian and Mexican stores) have grown only 14%, from \$28 billion to \$32 billion, Wal-Mart's have doubled, from \$16 billion to \$32.6 billion. Sears' overhead expenses still consume 29% of sales, and K mart's 23%, but Wal-Mart's burn up only 16% of sales. Wal-Mart workers are more productive than Sears': they generate an average of \$95,000 in sales per employee, in contrast to \$85,000 for Sears employees.

Sears executives bristle at comparisons with Wal-Mart. Says a spokesman: "We



Sam Walton vaulted to the top on service and rock-bottom prices

Brand You Want At The Store You Trust



A Sears customer shopping for a stove in Paramus, N.J., nearly has the place to herself

compete with Wal-Mart on only 30% of the goods we sell." Maybe that's part of the problem. Critics say Sears management has lost touch with its customers and its mission. As a result, several retail expansions during the past few years have failed. Examples:

- Sears is determined to upgrade and expand its fashion lines, but in stores better known for Kenmore washing machines, Craftsman tools and Weatherbeater paints, women's fashions have suffered a persistent image problem. Says Kurt Barnard, publisher of the *Retail Marketing Report*: "Ask the average woman if she would care to wear a Sears Roebuck cocktail dress. It's an oxymoron."

- Sears also stumbled two years ago with McKids, a venture with McDonald's that ran a string of 47 stores featuring children's fashions and toys. The idea seemed sound, but the stores were badly organized and overpriced. Last week Sears shut the stores, though it will carry the clothes and toys in some Sears outlets.

In contrast to Wal-Mart's high-stepping esprit de corps, a debilitating siege mentality and lackluster follow-through afflict Sears, according to employees and managers. No effort to revitalize Sears' competitiveness, they say, is likely to succeed until management communicates a clear vision for the company. Says a closely informed source who did not wish to be named: "Why are we always ending up with these losing propositions? We arrive at a strategy, but not everyone in the organization adheres to it. They hedge. There's a lack of buy-in, and you never come out with anything coherent. A lot of the new stores look disjointed. They tend to become confusing places to shop. The bureaucratic culture is an enormous part of the problem."

Sears' weighty troubles sit on the shoulders of chief executive Edward Brennan, 57. Last week, emerging after 20 hours of delib-

erations with his board during two days, he announced that 9,000 more Sears employees must be laid off by December, bringing total job cuts this year to 33,000, more than 8% of the firm's 394,000 merchandising staff. The Sears board is divided as to whether Brennan should join their ranks; at least 4 of the 13 directors are said to be leaning toward new management. Admits a Brennan confidant: "We're in serious trouble. We needed to make some radical decisions that haven't been made. It's chaotic. We don't know what's going to happen."

The turmoil at Sears partly reflects the wrenching consolidation affecting all large retailers. The U.S. has too many big stores, and many of them no longer offer the mix of products and services customers want. The gulf war and consumer-spending cutbacks in the face of recession have made

matters worse. K mart has held up better than most, upgrading merchandise and overseeing costs through an inventory-control system that is even more elaborate than Wal-Mart's and rates as the industry's most sophisticated program. K mart's pressure on Sears will not relent anytime soon. Other major chains are failing. Last week Los Angeles-based Carter Hawley Hale (which owns the Broadway, Emporium and Weinstocks chains) sought Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection. At the same time, the U.S. Department of Commerce reported that retail sales fell 1.5% in December and an additional 0.9% in January.

But the problems at Sears run deeper. Long seen as a reliable source of values across a vast range of goods, from sheets and dresses to power tools and tires, Sears still enjoys considerable customer loyalty. But increasingly it has come to be viewed as stodgy and poorly managed. Says Carl Steidtmann, chief economist of Price Waterhouse's Management Horizons retail consulting group: "The level of customer service has deteriorated. You'd be glum too if you saw your friends getting laid off and if you were worried about your own job security."

One exception to that disappointing recent pattern is the rousing success of the Discover credit card. Launched in 1986, Discover is carried by 38 million shoppers. Cardholders can use it to shop at 1.2 million stores and restaurants other than Sears, including a chain that may seem surprising: Wal-Mart. Most businesspeople might refuse to accept a credit card issued by their principal competitor. Not Sam Walton. He wants to make shopping at Wal-Mart as easy as possible—and if Sears wants to help, well, that's fine with him.

—Reported by William McWhirter/Chicago and Richard Woodbury/Bentonville



Big Oil's Bad Rap

The Middle East war has rekindled consumer hatred of petroleum companies. In fact, they get more loathing than loot

Antiwar protesters shouting "No blood for oil!" infuriate George Bush. His color rising and lip curling, he retorts in speeches and private meetings, "It's not about oil! It's about naked aggression!"

Bush, a former oilman, knows well the visceral animosity most people feel toward America's major oil companies. A survey by the American Petroleum Institute, the industry's trade group, finds that 72% of Americans view Big Oil unfavorably. A study by Chevron shows that 65% of citizens say they cannot believe anything the industry says about the gulf war. Most Americans think—incorrectly—that oil is more profitable than most businesses, a view that is reinforcing cries in Congress for a windfall-profits tax.

The industry's latest offense, in the popular wisdom, is apparent in its profits for 1990's fourth quarter, reported by the Energy Department last week. Thanks mostly to a brief rise in the price of crude to a high of \$40, those earnings rose 77% above 1989's level. "We are protecting their oil with American boys," complains Senator Howard Metzenbaum, the Ohio Democrat who introduced a bill earlier this month calling for a surtax on the profits of the largest companies. "As quick as Saddam raised his sword, the oil companies raised their prices."

Sometimes it's hard to believe Metzenbaum was a businessman before becoming



No love for oil: most Americans view the industry unfavorably

The war has been bad news for profits.

a Senator. The quarter's profit increases looked so dramatic because the corresponding period in 1989 was the industry's worst in a decade. Disregard its Valdez-size write-offs of 1989, and the industry's total profits rose only 11% in 1990. That still didn't make them especially high. They represented just a 13.5% return on the

shareholders' equity, far lower than in such businesses as cosmetics (30.5%), pharmaceuticals (29.5%) and restaurants (19%). "No one is accusing the cosmetics industry of making obscene profits," says William O'Keefe, vice president of the A.P.I. Oil-company returns have averaged 12% since 1985, vs. an average of nearly 15% for all other manufacturing.

Most consumers were understandably livid over the way gasoline prices leaped after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, peaking at an average \$1.30 in Octo-

ber for an unleaded gallon. Actually, however, the U.S. rise was much less than the rise in European nations and Japan, where pump prices more accurately reflected the cost of crude. The Energy Department last week announced it had found no proof of profiteering by the oil industry, while the Hudson Institute concludes that 80% of the benefit of the higher prices went to the foreign nations that control the commodity.

Since war broke out on Jan. 16, crude prices have dropped from \$32 per bbl. to \$21 per bbl., but oil companies have been slow to cut retail gas prices correspondingly. This has fed anti-oil acrimony. The industry argues that it is just making up for not hiking prices all the way during last fall's crude run-up. Even so, the average price of a gallon of unleaded is down to \$1.18, only 10¢ higher than the day before Iraq invaded Kuwait—and half that difference is from a nickel-a-gallon federal tax imposed in December.

The war has been bad news for the major oil companies so far. Not only are crude prices down, but many experts foresee a further plunge when the war ends. Other countries have more than made up for Iraq's and Kuwait's lost production, and the U.S. is getting by on less imported oil, thanks in part to a warm winter and reduced demand driven by the recession. When Iraq and Kuwait start pumping again, the sudden glut could force prices down temporarily to \$15 per bbl. or less. That would wash away the industry's profit gains of last quarter and further lower its subpar returns. Warns Unocal chairman Richard Stegemeier: "Instability is coming, and the industry doesn't do well in turbulent times."

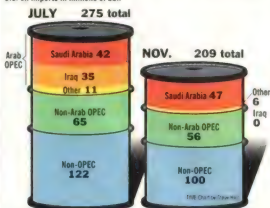
So why do Americans deeply detest Big Oil? After all, observes Stegemeier, "No one seems too concerned when orange juice goes up after a freeze. Society says everyone should have a free market, except the oil industry." Harvard Medical School psychologist Steven Berglas, who works with corporations that suffer from image problems, concurs. "People resent powerful entities that control necessities like oil," he explains. "We can actually gain psychological control by hating them." Berglas also suspects that some civilians deflect their anti-Iraq feelings toward Big Oil, a more accessible target. "You and I are not flying F-15s," he says. "But we can really be ticked off at the oil companies for supposedly reaping profits off misery." And never mind whether it makes sense.

—By Richard Behar.

With reporting by Thomas McCarroll/New York

BEFORE AND AFTER THE INVASION

U.S. oil imports in millions of bbl.



Fighting for Their Lives

The world's airlines, battered by war and recession, slug it out in a brawl that will reshape the industry for years to come

By THOMAS MC CARROLL

Planning a trip? You'll be happy to know that Pan Am, American and Northwest airlines have drastically cut fares for travelers buying tickets before March 1. British Airways would like to cut transatlantic fares one-third, and TWA, USAir and Pan Am want to cut them that much or more, if the government lets them. Air carriers are offering dramatic bargains—and not out of benevolence. They're desperate.

In 1990, their all-time worst year, the world's airlines lost a record \$3.5 billion and nearly half their passenger traffic to the threat of war and the pain of recession, and they figured things couldn't get any worse. They were wrong. With bombs falling in the Middle East and the world economy almost motionless, this year is shaping up as an even bigger disaster. For passenger airlines to aircraft makers, the aviation business is in a tailspin. Losses and failures are mounting, planes are flying half empty, and the transatlantic fare war is certain to create more ruin. Says Lee Howard, chief executive of Airline Economics: "This is the most serious crisis in the history of the airline business."

The crisis signals an end to a decade of unprecedented expansion. Passenger travel, which soared to record levels in the aftermath of deregulation, is paralyzed by corporate belt-tightening and fear of terrorism. So far this year, international traffic is down 40%. In the U.S. 2 of every 5 seats are flying empty. As the war and the recession roll on, carriers are lightning their loads by suspending unprofitable routes, flying remaining ones less often

and cutting costs. Airlines have reduced new orders for aircraft as much as 50%; 44,000 airline workers worldwide, from machinists in

Kansas City to flight attendants in Amsterdam, have lost their jobs since January. USAir, which reported \$221 million in losses for the fourth quarter, last week laid off 3,600 workers. Belgium's national airline, Sabena, and Spain's flagship carrier, Iberia, each announced plans to eliminate more than 2,000 jobs. British Airways, which suffered a 72% profit decline last quarter, cut 4,600 jobs while mothballing five Boeing planes worth \$1.5 billion.

Even before Iraq invaded Kuwait, America's stalling economy was forcing

in airline expenses, accounting for about 20% of operating budgets. Overleveraged carriers couldn't take the hike. After its annual fuel costs rose 33%, to \$1 billion, Continental failed. Faced with a similar bill, Pan Am filed for bankruptcy a month later. Last week Northwest raised the possibility of merging

with a stronger airline or selling its lucrative Pacific routes. Analyst Julius Maludis of Salomon Brothers

says, "The industry is being separated into the big eagles and the sitting ducks."

The still regulated airlines across the Atlantic are asking the European Commission to reduce red tape, approve joint operating ventures and allow the carriers to raise fares. European airline traffic has

dropped 25% since January. Italy's Alitalia, with its transatlantic business down 30%, wants government assistance for workers scheduled to be laid off.

The surest way to bring back passengers is also the most painful: a fare war. British Airways fired the first shot Feb. 9 with its plan to cut transatlantic fares for summer travel one-third. U.S. carriers responded with fare cuts of up to 50%, but U.S. Transportation Secretary Samuel Skinner rejected all cuts, including the British Airways request. The decision is widely viewed as retaliation for London's foot dragging in approving the sale of Pan Am's and TWA's London routes. TWA said it will be forced into bankruptcy if the sale isn't approved

soon. Skinner permitted Pan Am fare cuts for domestic and international flights before March 1, an offer that American and Northwest immediately matched. While consumer response has been positive, the impact on the industry will probably be negative. Says David Swierenga, airline economist at the Air Transport Association: "The fare war will only increase the bloodshed."

The industry received a boost last week when First Lady Barbara Bush took a commercial flight to Indianapolis to show terror-stricken Americans that air travel was safe. Said she: "I'm not afraid to fly." Her gesture may diminish fears, but it will take a stronger economy and probably an end to the gulf war to get the industry—big eagles and sitting ducks alike—airborne again.



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J A G U A R

A B L E N D I N G O F A R T A N D M A C H I N E

Business Notes

MEDIA

Financial News Debt Work

America's most watched business-news channel nearly had to report its own demise. Owing \$142 million and losing money, Financial News Network Inc. was headed for oblivion until, last week, it finally accomplished what it had been trying



FNN: awash in IOUs

for five months: it sold important assets and raised cash. Dow Jones and Westinghouse Broadcasting jointly bought the flagship FNN cable news channel plus the company's weekend sports service. Its syndicated program *This Morning's Business* and a radio news service for about \$90 million.

Westinghouse Broadcasting will manage the properties while Dow Jones will have editorial control, which should lead to improvements in both areas. The Discovery Channel, another cable-TV venture, agreed to buy FNN Inc.'s interest in the Learning Channel for \$12.75 million. FNN also plans to sell its 49% interest in Shark Information Services. Trouble is, that's all the assets. Acknowledging that it is still deeply in the hole, the company said it will soon file for bankruptcy protection. ■



LITIGATION

Nabisco Faces The Music

Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers—those legendary names are as synonymous with sophistication as a jet-black tuxedo, the snow-white swirl of an evening gown, a Ritz cracker... A

Ritz cracker? According to Astaire's widow, a subsidiary of Nabisco Brands hoped to create just such a connection when it released a million packages of its familiar Ritz snack crackers decorated with dancers in formal dress. Though the faces seem airbrushed, Mrs. Astaire and the very much living Ginger Rogers see an uncanny resemblance to a photo of the famed Hollywood hoofers from the 1935 hit film *Top Hat*. Their response: a \$1 million lawsuit.

"When you put a celebrity on a can of merchandise, that's an endorsement," says Steven Ames Brown, who is representing both Rogers and Astaire's estate. Nabisco Brands, insisting that the design depicts "two unidentified dancers," says the suit is "without merit." ■

TAXES

Is This Kid For Real?

Honesty is the best policy—especially when you have no alternative. That would seem to be the conclusion of millions of

U.S. taxpayers. In 1988, 8.7 million of them claimed a tax credit for child-care expenses, but in 1989 only 6 million did so. Could it be that in just a year 2.7 million taxpayers stopped paying for child care? Not likely. A better explanation: in the interim a law took effect requiring

parents who claimed such tax breaks to identify their day-care providers. Suddenly, if the IRS wanted to check out your claim, it could.

"We are fairly certain that there was a major impact because of this new provision of the law," says an IRS spokes-

man, politely sidestepping the more pointed conclusion that some children previously cited as dependents existed only in the imagination of resourceful 1040 filers. Estimated windfall to the U.S. Treasury from the stricter rule: more than \$1.2 billion. ■

MANUFACTURING

Harmony in Hog Heaven

Harley-Davidson, one of U.S. industry's inspiring success stories of the '80s, roared from near bankruptcy to market dominance through a combination of Japanese production methods, stiff temporary tariff help and, most visibly, employee involvement in the enterprise. But last year the Milwaukee-based maker of monster motorcycles—hogs, to their fans—began pushing for more involvement than some workers wanted. Result: in early February employees at Harley's assembly plant in York, Pa., walked out. Management had proposed, among other things, varying factory employees' pay according to the quality and quantity of their production,

while union members wanted the security of a fixed wage. The strike threatened to unravel years of productive cooperation and undermine one of the most heartening examples of U.S. manufacturing's turning itself around. Last Friday company and union announced they had reached tentative agreement on a new contract. Neither side would disclose terms. ■



Passing a pothole

WALL STREET

Rocketing Stocks

Before the Persian Gulf war began, the stock market was in deep hibernation. But after hostilities got started, and with allied victory all but certain, investors staged fireworks of their own. Last week the Standard & Poor's 500 index hit a seven-month high of 369. The Dow exploded, rising 104 points to finish the week at 2,934.65 after a 100-point gain the previous week. The market has soared nearly 17% since the war began Jan. 16, more than regaining all the territory it lost in the months after Iraq invaded Kuwait.

No abundance of good news seemed to explain the market's explosive performance. The economy seemed far from robust as industrial production



The market is looking up

fell 0.4% last month. Though hopes for a settlement of the war vanished quickly after flickering briefly Friday morning, investors found enough to cheer about in falling oil prices and lower interest rates. With institutional and individual investors still being enticed off the sidelines, analysts speculate that the market's dramatic rise may not be over. ■

Controlling a Childhood Menace

Lead poisoning poses the biggest environmental threat to the young

By LEON JAROFF

Sitting on an examining table at the Children's Hospital in Pittsburgh, three-year-old Shawntea West is smiling and alert, apparently in excellent health. But she is afflicted with the most common of the serious childhood diseases. The mumps? Viral meningitis? Measles? Whooping cough? The answer, says Dr. Herbert Needleman as he draws blood from her arm, is lead poisoning.

During a routine checkup two weeks earlier, Shawntea was found to have a level of 25 micrograms of lead per deciliter of blood. If that toxic level is maintained, it could affect her mental capabilities and result in grave behavioral and physical problems. "She was living in raggedy housing and eating plaster from a big hole in the wall," says her grandmother, who accompanied her. To Dr. Needleman, that is an important clue; it is likely that some of the earlier coats of paint on the wall contained lead. "Make sure she washes her hands before she eats," he says, "and don't let her eat dirt or plaster."

Shawntea's case is hardly unique. From 3 million to 4 million American children—or about 1 out of every 6—under six years old have lead poisoning. While only 7% of young children from medium- and high-income families are afflicted, it affects 25% of poor white children and an incredible 55% of those from impoverished black families.

These startling statistics are contained in a "strategic plan" developed by the Department of Health and Human Services. Though *HHHS* warns that the effects of exposure to even moderate amounts of lead are more pervasive and long lasting than was previously thought, its plan optimistically outlines a program for eliminating lead poisoning in children within 20 years. Dr. Needleman, a pioneer investigator of the disorder at the University of Pittsburgh medical school, feels that the goal is attainable. "Lead poisoning is the most severe environmental disease in this country," he says, "and it is totally preventable."

But total prevention could be an elusive goal. Americans are constantly exposed to lead, particularly from old, crumbling paint. The dense metal escapes into the air when used in industrial processes and can leach out of crystal glassware and imported pottery into food and drink. Lead solder in old plumbing often contam-

inates tap water. Government regulations have phased out most leaded gasolines, but the residue from the exhausts of millions of vehicles in years gone by still poisons the soil near major highways. And though lead-based paints were banned for most uses in 1977, a 1988 Public Health Service report revealed that 52%, or 42 million, of the nation's households have layers of lead-based paint on their walls and woodwork.

Even in minute quantities, lead is highly toxic. Some historians suggest that widespread lead poisoning contributed to the decline of ancient Rome, where the metal was used for tableware, weapons, cosmetics and water pipes in aqueducts, as well as in the processing of wine. Its prevalence, some conjecture, may have caused sterility, miscarriages and even insanity, particularly among members of the upper classes, who imbibed heavily.

Ingested or inhaled, lead enters the bloodstream, where it inhibits the production of hemoglobin, which red cells need to

carry oxygen. It also locks on to essential enzymes in the brain and nervous system, inactivating them. Symptoms of lead poisoning include abdominal pains, muscular weakness and fatigue; severe exposure can cause nervous-system disorders, high blood pressure and even death.

While adults, especially those in certain occupations and industries, are vulnerable to lead poisoning, small children are at the greatest risk. Dr. Joseph LaDou of the University of California at San Francisco explains that children are "exquisitely sensitive" to the toxic metal because their nervous systems and brains are still developing.

Does an effective treatment for lead poisoning exist? Yes, provided it begins before too much damage is done. Doctors get the lead out with a process called chelation, using drugs that bind to the metal in the bloodstream, allowing it to be flushed out in the urine. The drug of choice has been calcium-disodium EDTA, but it is usually administered intravenously over sever-



Flakes and dust from old, deteriorating paint are the most commonplace culprits

al days in a hospital. The Food and Drug Administration has approved for use in children an oral drug called DMSA, which does not require hospitalization. But effective as chelation is, doctors point out that medical treatment cannot substitute for a safe environment. "Prevention is the key," says LaDou. "It's a dream that we can find drugs to protect us from environmental hazards."

The effects of low-level lead poisoning in children are not immediately obvious, but they can have a devastating, permanent impact. Exhaustive tests conducted by Dr. Needleman on 2,300 suburban Boston schoolchildren confirmed that even modest lead exposure lowers IQs, impairs memory and reaction time and affects the ability to concentrate. "This is an information society," says Karen Florini, a Washington attorney with the Environmental Defense Fund. "When your educational and social skills are hurt early on, you aren't likely to become a productive member of society." John Rosen, a professor of pediatrics at the Montefiore Medical Center in New York City, agrees: "The fact that we have a pervasive problem that has the capacity to rob young children of their potential forever is, in 1991, a national disgrace."

By far the highest incidence of lead poisoning is found in children who live in older homes with lead-based paint that is peeling. For many years public health officials assumed that most cases were the result of toddlers' eating the sweet-tasting chips and flakes. More recently, however, researchers have recognized that dust from deteriorating paint, settling onto windowsills, furniture and carpets, poses a more pervasive threat. "It's the teddy bear lying in the corner on lead-laden dust that the children are touching," says Rosen. "Putting fingers in their mouth is normal activity for kids. The lead goes from their toys, their clothes, their furniture into their mouths."

New perceptions about the toxicity of lead have convinced many experts that the currently accepted danger level of 25 micrograms per deciliter of blood is too high. HHS favors lowering the warning level to 10 micrograms. Testing blood levels, however, may be an imperfect index of danger. "Measuring the blood is convenient and often useful," explains Richard Wedeen, a neph-

rologist at a V.A. hospital in East Orange, N.J., "but it may not be where the lead is." The problem is that only a few months after entering the bloodstream, much of the lead has migrated to the bones, where it can persist for decades without doing damage. But it can re-enter the bloodstream and cause trouble, especially under stress-

ful conditions—surgery, infection, emotional upheaval.

Consequently, some doctors analyze a patient's bones or teeth to gauge the extent of lead poisoning more accurately. In young children, baby teeth that have fallen out can be tested for lead content. This procedure is obviously impractical for adults, who can be tested by new, noninvasive X-ray fluorescence techniques. The X rays penetrate tissue and excite lead atoms in the living bone, causing them to emit radiation that reveals lead levels.

Can lead poisoning be eradicated as a threat to children as, say, polio has been? Yes, says the Environmental Defense Fund's Florini. "We don't need to invent new technologies to remove lead. We know how to do it. What's needed is money." Authors of the HHS strategic plan apparently agree. They call for a four-point effort that requires 1) establishment of national surveillance for children with elevated blood levels of lead; 2) elimination of lead-based paint and contaminated dust in housing; 3) reduction of children's exposure to lead in water, food, air, soil and places of play; and 4) an increase in community programs for the prevention of childhood lead poisoning.

The plan could cost as much as \$10 billion over the next 10 years, but its authors claim that eliminating lead from all pre-1950 housing would alone save \$28 billion in medical expenses and other costs. Though the Office of Management and Budget has raised allotments for lead-screening programs from only \$4 million in 1990 to a proposed \$41 million for 1992, it is balking at further expenditures.

Environmentalists and health officials are determined not to lose a historic opportunity to stop lead poisoning in America. The Romans, notes nephrologist Wedeen, chose to ignore warnings by the architect Vitruvius, who declared that the aqueducts' lead pipes were fit for carrying only sewage, not drinking water. "That is not unlike what is going on today," says Wedeen. "People know about the dangers of lead, but they just don't do very much about it." If the HHS recommendations are adopted, the lessons of history may finally pay off. But that, as the saying goes, is far from a lead-pipe cinch. —Reported by Ann Blackburn/Pittsburgh and Janice M. Horowitz/New York

SOME UNEXPECTED SOURCES OF TROUBLE

POTTERY

Colorful glazes on many of the ceramic pitchers and plates imported from Italy and Mexico both lure and endanger the unwary purchaser. Lead can leach from the glaze into food and water.



DON'T DRINK THE WATER

Though it is now illegal to use lead pipes or copper pipes joined by lead solder for carrying drinking water, lead joints remain in many older plumbing systems, imparting their toxic atoms to the water.



A CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER

Lead oxide gives these crystal glasses their brilliance and heft. But recent tests show that wine left sitting in lead-crystal wineglasses or decanters gradually absorbs lead from them.



A G.I. Family's Prayer

Hour of Power
seen every Sunday

Hear, Lord, my prayer for my G.I.,
so eager to live—too young to die.
Beneath an alien blistering sun,
he faces a dangerous enemy gun.
The storm clouds gather, the horror of war,
my soldier stands bravely guarding the door.
Defending justice, peace, and freedom,
to his Commander-in-Chief give Holy wisdom.
From war's alarms, bring swift release,
Hasten the day of honorable peace.
On land and sand and sea and air,
I back my soldier with this prayer:
"No matter how far he's forced to roam,
just bring, I pray, my G.I. home."

Amen

Robert H. Schuller
January 1991

Atlanta 8 a.m. WAGA-5	Houston 10 a.m. KHTV-39	Pittsburgh 8 a.m. WPXI-11
Baltimore 7:30 a.m. WBAL-11	Indianapolis 9:30 a.m. WRTV-6	Portland, OR 6:30 a.m. KOIN-6
Boston 7:30 a.m. WCVB-5	Los Angeles 10 a.m. KCAL-9 Saturday 6 p.m. KTNB-40	Sacramento 8 a.m. KTXL-40
Chicago 6:30 a.m. WGN-9 10 a.m. WCIU-26	Miami 10 a.m. WSVN-7 Saturday 9 p.m. WHFT-45	San Francisco 7 a.m. KTSF-26 7 a.m. KICU-36 11 a.m. KFCB-42
Cleveland 11 a.m. WUAB-43	Minneapolis 8 a.m. KSTP-5	Seattle 10:30 a.m. KSTW-11 Saturday 6 p.m. KTBW-20
Dallas 7 a.m. WFAA-8 Saturday 11 p.m. KDTX-58	New York 7 a.m. WNYW-5	St. Louis 9:30 a.m. KTVI-2
Denver 10 a.m. KUSA-9	Philadelphia 8:30 a.m. WPHL-17	Tampa 10 a.m. WFLA-8
Detroit 7 a.m. WKBD-50	Phoenix 7 a.m. KPHO-5 Saturday 7 p.m. KPAZ-21	Washington DC 9 a.m. WILA-7
Hartford 8:30 a.m. WVIT-30		

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and the U.S. Armed Forces Network.

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Medicine

Blasting Bacteria

*A man-made antibody battles
massive infections*

One of the gravest threats to anyone: severely burned or injured—or to soldiers wounded in battle—is massive, systemic bacterial infection. Such infection is toxic, "gram-negative" bacteria kill up to 100,000 Americans a year, many of the surgical patients and trauma victims. Last week researchers at the University of California at San Diego reported a major victory in the war against these microbes. Using injections of a biotech product called monoclonal antibodies in patients suffering from toxic infections and septic shock, they reduced the expected death rate 40%, in some cases rescuing patients from the brink of death. The advance comes just in time for soldiers who might be wounded in the Gulf war.

Gram-negative bacteria—so named because they do not retain a laboratory stain devised by the Danish bacteriologist Christian Gram—are usually harmless. They reside on the skin and in the gut, where they aid in digestion. But any significant disruption to the body's immune response—caused, for instance, by severe burns, chemotherapy or major abdominal surgery—allows these rod-shaped bacteria to multiply out of control and invade other parts of the body, eventually entering bloodstream. Once there, one part of the bacterial cell wall called endotoxin can trigger a cascade of lethal effects, culminating in multiple organ failure and death sometimes within hours.

The new treatment, reported by Elizabeth Ziegler and colleagues in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, employs a man-made antibody called HA-1A designed to zero in on the endotoxin molecule and render it harmless. Although the Food and Drug Administration has yet to approve HA-1A for use in the U.S., the agency has given the Pentagon special permission to utilize the antibody in the Gulf. Large quantities are on hand in MASH units and field hospitals.

The antibody does not provide a guaranteed cure. In the study, 30% of the patients receiving the treatment died (50% of those who did not receive it). Still, HA-1A appears to be one more high-tech weapon U.S. soldiers can count on.



**Rod-shaped
intruders**

A Whole Greater Than Its Parts?

American individualism draws fire from a new intellectual movement that re-emphasizes social obligation

By WALTER SHAPIRO

The word stumbles awkwardly off the tongue, all 16 didactic letters, sounding like a fuzzy echo from a long-ago college lecture. *Communitarianism*. Was it a late-medieval religious heresy, a 19th-century utopian philosophy or an aesthetic theory that predated socialist realism? The correct answer is none of the above. But if a new group of centrist academics—sociologists, political scientists and law profes-

sors—has its way, the term will soon take a place among the important isms that shape the U.S. political dialogue. Communitarianism, loosely defined, is a fledgling and provocative effort to temper the excesses of American individualism with a strong assertion of the rights of the larger society. The social tension between the citizen and the community in democratic theory is at least as old as the 18th century differences between the rights-based philosophy of Locke and the majoritarian beliefs of Rousseau. But few voices in modern American intellectual life have challenged the primacy of the unfettered individual. To fill this void is the goal of the communitarians.

The group, under the leadership of prominent sociologist Amitai Etzioni, took public shape just a few weeks ago with the launching of a quarterly journal, *Responsive Communitarianism*. "To the A.C.U., libertarians and other radical individualists," Etzioni and his co-editors declared in their statement of purpose, "we say that the rights of individuals must be balanced with responsibilities to the community."

Rights and Responsibilities, the magazine's subtitle, represents shorthand for a public debate that extends far beyond Etzioni and his coterie. William F. Buckley Jr. in his latest book, *Gratitude*, puts an old-line conservative imprimatur on national service. The February issue of *Harper's* features a symposium on whether the Constitution needs a "Bill of Duties" to offset the Bill of Rights. The *Harper's* panel, which included Harvard law professor Mary Ann Glendon, a co-editor of *Responsive Community*, came to

no firm conclusion. But Glendon conveyed a sense of how communitarians view personal responsibility with this hypothetical constitutional language: "The nurture and education of children are duties primarily incumbent on the parents."

The communitarians did not plan to make their assault on the public consciousness just as the nation began fighting in the Persian Gulf. But a rethinking of the relationship between a citizen and his country is particularly apt at a time when America



is waging its first major war in this century with a volunteer army. Encouraged by the suddenly reawakened sense of national community, Etzioni observes that often "war brings out latent things in a society."

Ideas develop at their own pace, but American intellectual movements these days tend to be born over lunch. Supply-side economics flowered in 1974 when economist Arthur Laffer drew tax and revenue curves on a cocktail napkin. For communitarianism, the seminal breaking of the bread came last summer at the faculty club at George Washington University, where Etzioni teaches; his luncheon companion was political scientist William Galston, the issues director of Walter Mondale's 1984 presidential campaign. Sensing a shared

perspective, Etzioni plied Galston with hypothetical conflicts. Are sobriety checkpoints for drivers of motor vehicles an infringement of civil liberties? What should the police be legitimately allowed to do to disrupt open-air drug markets?

These questions represented to Etzioni case studies in which the aggressive defense of individual legal rights is at odds with the safety of the larger community. But Galston, who signed on as a co-editor of *Responsive Community*, stresses that his own approach "is not to water down or trump certain rights in the name of something else. Instead, we need to think in a fresh way about what rights we do have."

Etzioni seems animated by his own agenda: intense hostility to legal efforts by civil libertarians to restrict police behavior and uphold individual rights. He says, "I'm hard put to find any organization that is so actively opposed to communitarian issues as the A.C.U.U." The American Civil Liberties Union already has critics to spare: George Bush made it a major theme of his 1988 campaign against Michael Dukakis. Moreover, A.C.U.U. executive director Ira Glasser argues, "The problem with the Etzioni group is that they assume incorrectly that individual rights are not a public good."

Such skirmishes detract attention from the much broader role communitarianism could play amid the desolate landscape of American domestic policy. Who else speaks to the need to reanimate public service and restore civic virtue? Glendon captures this spirit when she says, "We are discontented with the orthodoxies of the right and the left. My hope is that there is a constituency in America for truth telling, moderation and complexity." Several articles in the inaugural issue of *Responsive Community* provide tantalizing hints of new ways of looking at old problems. Galston, for one, suggests a bold reformulation of divorce laws to emphasize the needs of children over the financial and emotional demands of their parents.

Communitarianism is an idea still in flux, more than a slogan but less than a coherent philosophy. Even the name may give way to something more catchy: Galston tentatively offered up "neo-progressives." But whatever the label and whatever its political future, it is an encouraging sign that thinkers are groping to find alternatives to the selfishness inherent in interest-group liberalism and conservative laissez-faire economics.

Music

What's Wrong with the Grammys

Lame choices and noisy critics give the awards a dubious rep

By JAY COCKS

Bad timing. And with the big show ready to air this week too.

Here is the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences, diligently trying to add greater luster and further lucre to the music biz by modernizing the Grammy Awards and trying to slip them into some semblance of synch with contemporary taste. It took NARAS until 1979 to give rock its own category, but lately it has cooked up a slot for everything from rap to New Age.

Now maybe hipsters will stop calling the show the "Granny Awards." But still present—they won't go away—are the unsavory reverberations of Rob Pilatus and Fab Morvan, the two Audio-Animatronics who were supposed to be Milli Vanilli but weren't, and had to surrender their 1989 Best New Artist Grammy. Very embarrassing.

But maybe not as embarrassing as Sinéad O'Connor, nominated for four gold

statuettes, boycotting the Grammy ceremony. She doesn't want to be part of the show, which will be aired live at 8 p.m. EST this Wednesday on CBS, and she won't accept her Grammys if she wins them. Such awards, she informed NARAS president Michael Greene, "respect mostly material gain, since that is the main reason for their existence."

O'Connor, 24, is one of the most gifted young rockers around, and it is awkward to have someone of her talent and exuberance tell the music business to stuff its highest award. "I don't agree with her rationale," says Joe Smith, president of Capitol-EMI Music, which is affiliated with O'Connor's record label, Chrysalis. "If Sinéad doesn't like these shows, then that's her opinion. They get good ratings. This is not the International Red Cross."

Nor is it the Oscars, Emmys or Tonys. Among the Big Four show-biz awards, the Grammys have the most unfortunate rep-

utation for often making saccharine choices that toady shamelessly to the marketplace. The past winners have included such unremarkable talents as Debby Boone and Toto. With the latest snafus, NARAS president Greene has been busy defending and explaining how members cast their lot for a total of 77 awards in 27 different fields. "It's a very complicated process," Greene admits. "It's too damn complicated. I don't know if God intended music to be classified."

The voting is egalitarian, but that may be one of its problems. Last summer NARAS sent a form to each of its 8,000 members and to executives at the major record companies soliciting nominations for recordings released during the 12 months ending last Sept. 30. Each member—including singers, songwriters, album-cover designers, engineers and producers—is allowed to recommend up to five candidates in each award category. That list becomes the ballot that is mailed out to the 6,000 members eligible to vote.

Members can vote in as many as nine of the 27 fields, and everyone can vote on the four key Grammys (Record, Song and Album of the Year, and Best New Artist). Members are, however, encouraged to vote only in areas where they feel qualified. "I'll vote in pop and rock categories," says songwriter Diane Warren (who wrote Milli Vanilli's *Blame It on the Rain*). "But when it comes to the Best Polka Song category, I don't vote in that one."

Not everyone shares that compunction, and there is no system of checks to make sure, for example, that Itzhak Perlman isn't putting his mark beside Motley Crue's *Kickstart My Heart*. "I don't like the idea of having the freedom to vote in areas outside your expertise," says Ken Barnes of the trade publication *Radio & Records*. The system seems to give the advantage to more widely publicized, commercially accepted acts. "If you don't sell, you don't have a chance at winning," says rock critic Dave Marsh. "But if you do sell, it doesn't guarantee winning."

Not even greatness guarantees that, especially for artists ahead of their time. Jimi Hendrix. Bob Marley. Little Richard. Sonny Rollins, the Talking Heads, the Supremes and the Who never got a single piece of Grammy gold. Some of Grammy's greatest

hitters are heavy-duty worthies (Aretha Franklin has topped 15, Stevie Wonder 17), but it's also true, as Marsh points out, that "no one thinks that the Grammys honor artistry. People like Marvin Gaye, Bruce Springsteen and Phil Spector have all been disrespected by the Grammys, and so people don't take the awards seriously."

Then what does that Grammy, a little gold-plated Gramophone on a pedestal, represent? A souvenir of a TV extravaganza. A talisman of mainstream commercial success. A bit of show-biz immortality that, since this is show biz, after all, is more tenuous and suspect than other varieties of eternal fame (anyone remember 1981's five-Grammy grand slammer Christopher Cross?). Sinéad O'Connor is right: the Grammys probably do "respect mostly material gain." But in the words of a very prominent Grammy wannabeg, we're living in a material world.

—Reported by

Patrick E. Cole/Los Angeles and Janice C. Simpson/New York

WINNERS

LOSERS



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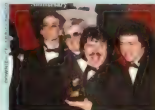
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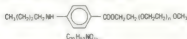
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If perles are chewed or dissolved in the mouth, oropharyngeal anesthesia will develop rapidly. CNS stimulation may cause restlessness and tremors which may proceed to clonic convulsions followed by profound CNS depression.

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Books

Hot Spots

BAGHDAD WITHOUT A MAP

by Tony Horwitz; Dutton
276 pages; \$19.95

MOTORING WITH MOHAMMED

by Eric Hansen; Houghton Mifflin
240 pages; \$19.95

By R.Z. SHEPPARD

The Arabic equivalent of "No way, Jose" is "Mish mumkin." "No problem" is "Maleesh mushkilah."

For example: "Pardon me, Yasser, but would you care to contribute to the United Jewish Appeal?"

"Mish mumkin?"

Or, "There appears to be a Scud heading my way. Is there anything you chaps with the Patriots can do about it?"

"Maleesh mushkilah."

Another lesson, generously illustrated in these two travel books about places where one does not currently travel, is that the will of Allah is important in these

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Hansen: shipwrecked with friends

A Kalashnikov for every Koran.

parts. This remains true even as Saddam Hussein discovers that the will of George Bush is guided by lasers.

Tony Horwitz, a London-based reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, visited the Middle East as a free-lance writer during the 1980s. Eric Hansen sailed the Red Sea and discovered the charms of North Yemen as a free spirit. Another difference between the two books: *Baghdad Without a Map* is about an observant and witty man trying to make a living. *Motoring with Mohammed* is about a man who has evidently discovered how to live without a job.

Thirteen years ago, Hansen and four

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PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVE LISS

Books

friends in a sailboat were shipwrecked on an uninhabited island 20 miles off the Yemenite coast. *Mafeesh mushkilah*. They had food, water and no appointments to keep. Hansen's emergency flares were undoubtedly seen by local fisherman and passing ships, but help came later rather than sooner.

Hansen's pleasantly elliptical narrative slides over a 10-year period at the end of which the author returns to North Yemen to retrieve his journals, buried for safekeeping on the island. It is not much of a payoff, though along the way Hansen delivers a lush portrait of a society that has managed to survive even though there seems to be a Kalashnikov for every copy of the Koran.

One reason for this longevity may be that Yemenites always find time for a communal chew of kat, a mood-altering plant whose effect seems similar to that of the Andean coca leaf. Horwitz also makes the kat scene, but the effect soon dissipates in the tensions of Cairo, Khartoum and Baghdad. In 1988, he notes, the popular joke in the Iraqi capital was that there were 32 million Iraqis: 16 million people and 16 million pictures of Saddam Hussein. This count included the President's face on wristwatches and ashtrays, and an unnerving number of government officials who are Saddam look-alikes. The extent of the idolatry renews the urgency of Vladimir Nabokov's warning that portraits of a nation's leader should never exceed the size of a postage stamp.

In Libya, Horwitz finds a designer dictator dressed in a cap, tartan sweater and red wool hat. Colonel Muammar Gaddafi is also given to mismatched profundities, like "Woman is a female and man is a male" and "Democracy means popular rule, not popular expression."

Horwitz quotes the late Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini as having once said, "There is no fun in Islam." Yet the sartorially and culturally suppressed of trendy Tehran have their ways. The author and his wife are invited to a dinner party at an apartment in an affluent section of the Iranian capital. Once inside, the women slip out of their long, black chadors to reveal miniskirts and low-cut blouses. They are soon drinking bootlegged vodka and wiggling to pop music. Although the guests grudgingly respect the imam and are proud of their heritage, they are sadly aware of their predicament. "You cannot spend your whole life behind closed curtains, drinking bad vodka and listening to low-volume Madonna," said an engineer who had studied in North Carolina.

The difference between East and West is the source of humor in both books, but both authors also catch the poignancy of their hosts' struggles to be reborn from the ruins of their ancient civilizations. ■

Cinema



A Ralph Kramden for the '90s: Goodman rocks 'n' rolls the decorum at a palace ball

Good Golly, Your Majesty

King Ralph is a royal romp, but Scenes from a Mall just wanders

By RICHARD SCHICKEL

Lonely (and hollow) as a cloud, Ralph Jones (John Goodman) wanders the halls of Buckingham Palace in his satin Green Bay Packers jacket. He has a problem: How can a Las Vegas lounge performer master the art of kingship after a rather silly accident has wiped out all the more logical candidates for the job? Peter O'Toole as Willingham, his private secretary, keeps humming a few bars of the right tune. But a regal song is just not one Ralph can fake.

Prickly as porcupines, Deborah and Nick Fifer (Bette Midler and Woody Allen) wander the aisles of a shopping mall that

probably exceeds Ralph's palace in square footage, confessing infidelities and trying to patch up a marriage that only this morning looked as solid as the British monarchy. They are constantly distracted by the consumerism bustling around them and by a mime (Bill Irwin) who is as nosy as he is silent and maybe the most amusing thing about the film.

Both *King Ralph* (written and directed by David Ward) and *Scenes from a Mall* (directed by Paul Mazursky from a screenplay he wrote with Roger Simon) offer their stars the kind of discombobulating contexts their well-established characters need to function funnily. But curiously

enough, it is the film with the more outrageously improbable premise that works best. As the man who wouldn't be King if he could help it, Goodman redeems what might have been just another high-concept comedy for the party of humanity. Despite the fact that they are working a much more subtle idea—an attempt to resolve a private crisis in an impersonally public place—Midler and Allen rarely attain believability, let alone sympathy, as the troubled pair of getters and spenders.

This is partly a matter of image. Goodman has become our designated Everyman, a Ralph Kramden for the '90s but without the splenetic splutter of Jackie Gleason's immortal creation. An intelligence, a sensitivity he can't quite articulate, just possibly a slight sadness, lurk behind Goodman's eyes, and they ground everything he does in reality. Midler, on the other hand, is our great show-biz floozy, and Allen personifies the anxious urban intellect. It is hard to insert their screen personas into the kind of normal, middle-class lives they are supposed to inhabit here. They require highly stylized vehicles in order to do their best work. Lacking that, neither they nor the audience knows quite what to make of these figures. Are they supposed to be the objects of satire or affection?

In other words, neither the actors nor Mazursky, whose gift for portraying middle-class muddles (*Down and Out in Beverly Hills*) is unquestioned, achieves the kind of confident relationship with their material that Goodman and Ward enjoy. Goodman is terrific in his big comic set pieces (notably a decorum-shattering rendition of *Good Golly Miss Molly* at a royal ball). But even in those he avoids the temptation to broad farce. He and Ward trust themselves to go for something sweeter and more wistful, for the tone of the fabulist, and they sustain it with near perfect pitch. ■

Milestones

HOSPITALIZED. Les Aspin, 52, voluble chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and a Democratic Representative from Wisconsin for two decades; with a heart ailment; in Denver. An avid skier, Aspin suffered breathing problems after several hours on Vail's slopes.

HOSPITALIZED. Kirk Douglas, 74, lantern-jawed movie actor; with a cut scalp and bruises after a helicopter in which he was riding collided with a stunt plane; in Los Angeles. The plane's pilot and passenger were killed.

DIED. Robert Wagner, 80, influential mayor of New York City from 1954 to 1965; in New York City. His three terms in office were equaled in modern times only by Fiorello La Guardia and Edward Koch.

Wagner was widely regarded as one of the best mayors in the city's history. During his tenure, as large numbers of Southern blacks and poor Puerto Ricans moved into the city and the middle classes

headed for the suburbs, Wagner secured state and federal funds to clear slums and construct public housing. He granted collective-bargaining rights to municipal labor unions and included greater numbers of minorities as officials in high positions in his administration. Admired for his soft-spoken integrity, Wagner saved Carnegie Hall from the wrecker's ball and managed to defeat Tammany Hall, the Democratic Party machine that influenced city and state politics for 150 years. After leaving



office, he was U.S. ambassador to Spain and presidential envoy to the Vatican.

DIED. John Sloan Dickey, 83, lawyer who was president of Dartmouth College from 1945 to 1970; in Hanover, N.H. During his tenure, he oversaw the education of nearly 20,000 of Dartmouth's 47,000 living alumni and saw the endowment grow from \$22 million to \$114 million.

DIED. John A. McCone, 89, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency and ex-chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission; in Pebble Beach, Calif. In 1961 President Kennedy selected McCone as head of the CIA to succeed Allen Dulles after the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. McCone provided vital information to the President during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

The Rise of Teenage Gambling

A distressing number of youths are bitten early by the betting bug

By RICARDO CHAVIRA WASHINGTON

Amid the throngs of gamblers in Atlantic City, Debra Kim Cohen stood out. A former beauty queen, she dropped thousands of dollars at blackjack tables. Casino managers acknowledged her lavish patronage by plying her with the perks commonly accorded vip customers: free limo rides, meals, even rooms. Cohen, after all, was a high roller. It apparently did not disturb casino officials that she was also a teenager and—at 17—four years shy of New Jersey's legal gambling age.

Finally, Kim's father, Atlantic City de-

on Problem Gambling, based in New York City. "Now we are finding that adolescent compulsive gambling is far more pervasive than we had thought."

Just 10 years ago, teenage gambling did not register even a blip on the roster of social ills. Today gambling counselors say an average of 7% of their case loads involve teenagers. New studies indicate that teenage vulnerability to compulsive gambling hits every economic stratum and ethnic group. After surveying 2,700 high school students in four states, California psychologist Durand Jacobs concluded that students are 2½ times as likely as adults to be-

bookies threatened me. One said he would cut off my mother's legs if I didn't pay." Still Greg continued to gamble. Now 23, he was recently fired from his job after his employer caught him embezzling.

Why does gambling fever run so high among teens? Researchers point to the legitimization of gambling in America, noting that it is possible to place a legal bet in every state except Utah and Hawaii. Moreover, ticket vendors rarely ask to see proof of age, despite lottery laws in 33 states and the District of Columbia requiring that customers be at least 18 years old. "You have state governments promoting lotteries," says Valerie Lorenz, director of the National Center for Pathological Gambling, based in Baltimore. "The message they're conveying is that gambling is not a vice but a normal form of entertainment." Researchers also point to unstable families, low self-esteem and a societal obsession with money. "At the casinos you feel very important," says Rich of Bethesda, Md., a young recovering addict. "When you're spending money at the tables, they give you free drinks and call you Mister."

Efforts to combat teen problem gambling are still fairly modest. Few states offer educational programs that warn young people about the addictive nature of gambling; treatment programs designed for youths are virtually nonexistent. In Minnesota, where a study found that more than 6% of all youths between 15 and 18 are problem gamblers, \$200,000 of the expected income from the state's new lottery will go toward a youth-education campaign. That may prove to be small solace. Betty George, who heads the Minnesota Council on Compulsive Gambling, warns that the lottery and other anticipated legalized gambling activities are likely to spur youth gambling.

Security guards at casinos in Atlantic City and Nevada have been instructed to be on the alert for minors. But it is a daunting task. Each month some 29,000 underage patrons are stopped at the door or ejected from the floors of Atlantic City casinos. "We can rationally assume that if we stop 29,000, then a few hundred manage to get through," says Steven Perskie, chairman of New Jersey's Casino Control Commission. Commission officials say they may raise the fines imposed on casinos that allow customers under 21 to gamble.

Counselors fear that little will change until society begins to view teenage gambling with the same alarm directed at drug and alcohol abuse. "Public understanding of gambling is where our understanding of alcoholism was some 40 or 50 years ago," says psychologist Jacobs. "Unless we wake up soon to gambling's darker side, we're going to have a whole new generation lost to this addiction."

SHE'S
ONLY SIXTEEN.
SHE
DOESN'T DO DRUGS.
BUT SHE
DOES HAVE A DEALER.

TEENY-BOP IS NOT JUST A GAME, IT'S THE LAW.
PLEASE ASK TO BE A LUCKY. IF YOU DON'T WE COULD LOSE OURS.

Harrah's

In Atlantic City, billboards warn parents and youths of the lurking danger

Of the estimated 8 million compulsive gamblers in America, fully 1 million are teenagers.

tective Leonard Cohen, complained to authorities. Kim was subsequently barred from casinos. But by then the damage had been done. "She was an addicted gambler," Cohen says of his daughter. Moreover, Kim had squandered all her money, including funds set aside for college. Officials at the five casinos where she gambled claimed that her case was an anomaly.

On the contrary, Kim's sad case is only too common. Gambling researchers say that of the estimated 8 million compulsive gamblers in America, fully 1 million are teenagers. Unlike Kim, most live far from casinos, so they favor sports betting, card playing and lotteries. Once bitten by the gambling bug, many later move on to casinos and racetrack betting. "We have always seen compulsive gambling as a problem of older people," says Jean Falzon, executive director of the National Council

come problem gamblers. In another study, Henry Lesieur, a sociologist at St. John's University in New York, found eight times as many gambling addicts among college students as among adults.

Experts agree that casual gambling, in which participants wager small sums, is not necessarily bad. Compulsive betting, however, almost always involves destructive behavior. Last fall police in Pennsauken, N.J., arrested a teenage boy on suspicion of burglary. The youth said he stole items worth \$10,000 to support his gambling habit. Bryan, a 17-year-old from Cumberland, N.J., recently sought help after he was unable to pay back the \$4,000 he owed a sports bookmaker. Greg from Philadelphia says he began placing weekly \$200 bets with bookies during his sophomore year in college. "Pretty soon it got to the point that I owed \$5,000," he says. "The

People

By SOPHFRONIA SCOTT/Reported by Wendy Cole



Girlfriends' Night Out

M.C. Hammer and Vanilla Ice beware! The hip-hop doesn't stop when it comes to the lovely ladies of rap. Eleven of the top female rappers

(six of whom are shown above) converged last week in Los Angeles for a five-hour Valentine's Day concert. In a medium dominated by men

and misogynistic lyrics, the women like to use their music to speak to inner-city youth on topics such as drugs and teenage pregnancy. "Be your own woman," says Nikki-D (second from right) describ-

ing her message. "We're not going to stand for anything bad from men." The megacollaboration worked so well that the lady rappers will take their act on the road this spring.

Plot Twist

The rumor of a character's imminent death had sailed around for weeks, but that didn't lessen the shock for *thirtysomething* fans when the event occurred. Aficionados anxiously awaited last week's show to hear the result of Nancy's cancer treatment, but there was a surprise: Michael's best friend Gary was killed in a tragic highway pile-up. Actor **Peter Horton**, who portrays Gary, didn't object to his death, since it frees him to pursue work as a director.



"On the head side, it was the right thing to happen," he says. "But the heart gets sad for all sorts of reasons."

Alone Again?

After 12 weeks as the No. 1 grossing film, *Home Alone* finally succumbed—to the Julia Roberts thriller *Sleeping With the Enemy*. But not before becoming the runaway top movie of 1990, with a total take so far of \$222 million. The movie has made its star, **Macaulay Culkin**, 10, a red-hot property. Culkin, who was paid a reported low six figures for *Home Alone*, is booked for a cool million for his next comedy. And, natch, a *Home Alone* sequel is in the works. 20th-Century Fox hopes to recapture the magic with little Mac, but can it afford him?



Hidden Huck

Huck wouldn't've given it a second look: a dusty old package covered with hen scratchin' in an attic trunk. There, for perhaps a century, lay the first half of the manuscript of Mark Twain's **HUCKLEBERRY FINN**, 665 pages written and corrected by the author. The discovery, announced last week, was made by a descendant of James Fraser Gluck, a manuscript collector, who found the pages in her Hollywood home. It may be reunited with the second half, now in a Buffalo library.



Real Appeal

When evangelist **Jim Bakker** stood convicted of bilking his followers of millions of dollars, the judge wanted to lock him up and throw away the key—for 45 very long years. But last week a federal appeals court ruled that Bakker's sentence was excessive because of unsuit-



able remarks made by the sentencing judge. It also didn't hurt Bakker to have Alan Dershowitz, the lawyer of last resort, on his side; he will try to get Bakker freed on the basis of time served. Bakker has spent 15 months in a Rochester, Minn., federal prison, where he has been teaching a kick-the-smoking-habit class.

Essay

Michael Kinsley

Trusting Ourselves with the News



They say it's Saddam Hussein's last weapon: the sight of Iraqi civilians killed and maimed by American bombs. Even if Saddam did not actually arrange for the martyrdom of these innocents, he has been using dead civilians in an attempt to undermine his opponents' resolve. But he needs help. So he has invited in the media of the nations allied against him, while carefully restricting what they can see and report. And—presto!—the media send the images he wants around the world. Are journalists aiding and comforting the enemy? Should somebody pull the plug?

No one, or almost no one, is talking censorship. The question is the responsibility of the media themselves. In wartime, when young men and women are preparing to give up their lives, shouldn't the media be decently prepared to give up some of their freedom? Are they (we) journalists first or patriots? Patriot missiles stop Saddam's weapons from reaching their targets. Shouldn't journalistic patriots do the same?

In fact there is no conflict here between journalism and patriotism. Consider those dreadful pictures of civilian casualties. Civilian casualties are inevitable and arguably justified in fighting a just war. But in a democracy, people have the right to make that decision for themselves. And they can't decide if they don't know. Saddam's propaganda weapon of advertising civilian casualties could succeed only by persuading people that the war is a bad idea and ought to cease. But if that did happen—if enough people were genuinely convinced—then, indeed, the war ought to cease.

People who watch the television reports from Baghdad bomb sites and turn purple with rage at the persuasive effect these may be having on viewers are saying, in essence: I am smart enough to put all this information in its proper perspective, but other people are stupider than I. I will sort out the facts from the propaganda, fill in what's missing (e.g., unshown brutalities in Kuwait) and make an intelligent judgment, but other people won't. I can absorb the emotional impact of the terrible imagery of war without losing my ability to reason, but other people cannot. I am responsible enough to weigh the consequences of reversing course now that war has started, but my fellow citizens are not to be trusted.

Or perhaps the angry ones are saying: I myself am not to be trusted with the sight of piles of dead children. We've made the decision to go to war; now stop me before I think again. Such doubts about oneself and others may even be justified. Many people are fools. But in a democracy we have no choice except to trust ourselves.

If Saddam did manage to convince majorities in the Western democracies that the war against him should stop, fewer soldiers would die, not more. So invoking the sacrifices of our fighting troops is a red herring. But critics of the reporting from Baghdad make a more elaborate argument as well. Scenes of dead Iraqis, they say, will inflame the famously flam-

mable Arab masses. Uprisings will threaten the Arab governments in the anti-Saddam coalition. This could force President Bush to start a ground war earlier than he otherwise might. And therefore more soldiers would die.

It is true that America's Arab allies are not democracies and do not have freedom of the press. Egypt has been scrupulously censoring TV reports from Baghdad. But this is not *carte blanche* for others to treat Arabs the way their leaders do. It is surely not the role of the Western press to prevent the people of these countries from learning the truth and having their say if they can. If George Bush were to start a ground war in order to get it over before too many people, be they Arabs or non-Arabs, change their minds, it would take true Rube Goldberg reasoning to blame the resulting casualties on the press.

Communications technology, especially satellite television, is one of the world's great liberating forces. It gets harder every day for undemocratic leaders to control what their people see and hear. It would be ironic for Westerners to attempt mind control that local dictators cannot.

As for viewers in the West, this, the first real-time TV war, reinforces the concern of some that the combination of democracy and television may make fighting a war nearly impossible. Seeing war's horrors will turn people against it. There may be something in this. But if so, so be it. If you are worried that dictatorships therefore have an unfair advantage in world affairs, your quarrel is with democracy, not with journalism.

But doesn't it change the equation that journalists in Baghdad are not permitted to report the "whole truth"? The choice, of course, is not between

partial truth and the whole truth; it is between partial truth and no truth at all. Reports from Baghdad, on CNN for example, come with more warning labels than a bottle of pills. But no amount of caveats and qualifications will satisfy some people, who want no pictures of dead Iraqis unless "balanced" by pictures of dead Kuwaitis. They are like people who complain that the media never report all the planes that land safely.

And their argument, if taken seriously, would foreclose reporting most information from the allied side, since it also is censored and one-sided. We see videos of smart bombs hitting buildings but no videos of stupid bombs missing buildings. Yes, sure, we can trust the good guys more than we can trust the bad guys. But that is because we believe the good guys are generally committed to truth as a value in its own right. That belief is undermined by those who argue that we should deny ourselves the truth from Baghdad for our own good.

There is a legitimate place for deception in wartime. If misleading Saddam about, say, when the ground war starts required deceiving citizens of the allied countries as well, few journalists would object. The test is simple: Is the genuine purpose to deny truth to the enemy? To deny truth to the folks back home because they might not handle it properly is to deny the premise of democracy. Real patriots don't do that. ■



CHARLES H. HARRIS FOR TIME

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 - b) 2.0 million (\$11.00)
 - c) 4.2 million (\$22.50)
2. How does letting your car idle for over a minute compare to restarting your engine?
 - a) It wastes gas
 - b) It saves gas
 - c) No difference
3. If all cars drove with properly inflated tires, how many gallons of gasoline would be saved per day? Annual household savings?
 - a) 1.2 million (\$6.50)
 - b) 2.2 million (\$12.00)
 - c) 4.2 million (\$22.50)
4. How much fuel on average can be saved by having a regular tune-up? Annual household savings?
 - a) 1 mile per 13 gallons (\$4.00)
 - b) 1 mile per 5 gallons (\$10.50)
 - c) 1 mile per gallon (\$53.00)

Answers: 1.c 2.a 3.c 4.c

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 - a) Up to \$342.00
 - b) Less than \$34.20
 - c) \$3.42
2. Using a flow restrictor on the shower head can reduce the average household's annual energy bill for hot water by?
 - a) As much as \$27.00
 - b) As much as \$41.00
 - c) As much as \$59.00
3. How much can you reduce your annual energy bill by lowering your thermostat from 72° to 68°?
 - a) Less than \$25.00
 - b) Around \$50.00
 - c) Up to \$82.00
4. Lowering your water heater from 160°F to 125°F can cut your average annual fuel bill by?
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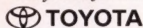
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